

THE DUBLIN REVIEW

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ROMANI PONTIFICES

By His Eminence Cardinal Godfrey

CONCLAVE DIARY

By Sir Alec Randall, K.C.M.G.

RACE RELATIONS IN BRITAIN

By Richard Gray

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

By Monsignor John Tracy Ellis

THE QUARTER'S TELEVISION

A Survey, by Mary Crozier

LONDON WINTER 1958-9

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ROMANI PONTIFICES

Memories of Four Popes

By His Eminence CARDINAL WILLIAM GODFREY

Archbishop of Westminster

I FIRST saw Rome at the end of the first decade of the present century. St Pius X had then been in the chair of Peter for seven years. The Rome of those days was very different from the city of today. Then the streets were quiet. The *carrozze* rattled on their way; no Vespa darted suddenly across the path of the pedestrian; the air was not filled with the fumes of petrol nor with the hooting of horns. One might say that the old Rome of 'Pio Nono' still lingered, albeit moving onwards towards an age of noise and bustle which, however inevitable, would be a Rome much less attractive to most than the city of the old days.

I am glad to have seen it and to have known the days when the Alban Hills were much more remote from Rome; when after passing the Catacombs of San Callisto, one came quickly to all the delights of the campagna.

Cardinal Wiseman wrote of his four Popes. I have seen three times a Pius on the throne of Peter and a Benedict. Now the twenty-third John of the papal line comes with a fatherly blessing and smile, looking out from the *loggia* over the portals of St Peter's on to the beloved city so greatly changed from the Rome of the early years of this century.

Memories of St Pius X are still vivid: his quiet sad smile, his Sunday sermons and his fatherly welcome to students arriving, and young priests departing for the home country to begin their priestly work. 'You will need St Raphael,' he said once, 'to take you across that wicked channel.' The serene, rather sad smile of St Pius X will remain in the memory of those who had the privilege of living in Rome during his pontificate.

At the time of the Conclave at which Benedict XV was elected Pope, we were in *villeggiatura* at Monte Porzio Catone in the Alban Hills near Frascati. The name of Cardinal Della Chiesa did not,

as far as I remember, appear in the lists of *papabili* in the newspapers. He had been secretary to Cardinal Rampolla, Leo XIII's Secretary of State, and Archbishop of Bologna.

I saw him shortly after his election, carried into St Peter's on the Sedia Gestatoria. Looking down the basilica, one saw in the distance a small, slim figure in white, giving his blessing from side to side with ample crosses. He looked alert, and, as he spoke to his clergy of Rome, he moved quickly about the platform using the gestures characteristic of his nation. He reminded them that St Paul had spoken of their faith as 'known the world over' and it may have been at this point that he gave emphasis to his point with a slap on the thigh.

Benedict XV and Pius XII were both elected in years which saw the beginning of world wars. Divine Providence chose well for the Church of God in giving us two men so well fitted for the tasks which confronted them: holy, shrewd, skilled in the ways of diplomacy, completely dedicated to the flock entrusted to them.

The words relating to the Holy Ghost, '*dividens singulis prout vult*' (bestowing His gifts as He wills to individuals), can be applied also to epochs. It is an interesting study to reflect on the Pontiffs chosen for particular periods.

Pope Benedict died unexpectedly after a short pontificate of eight years. Of his efforts for peace the world knew well during his reign, but no doubt the memory is dimmed in the mists of time. If one takes the trouble to look at Pope Benedict's peace points, presented to the Governments in August 1917, and sets them side by side with the famous points of President Wilson, which were the basis of the final agreement, one can appreciate the justice of the opinion that had the Pope's note been accepted, much bloodshed might have been spared.

I lived in Rome for some nine years of the pontificate of Pope Pius XI. Strong in frame and of scholarly mind, he brought many benefits to his flock. In private audience he was kind and fatherly. Apart from audiences of an official nature, I like to dwell chiefly on his goodness to young students for the priesthood. I think of those occasions when one was alone with him in his study before he rose and went to meet the college assembled to pay homage to him and to receive his blessing.

Two incidents remain in my memory on the occasion of these happy audiences. On one occasion the Pope opened a drawer and took out a packet of pictures of the Holy Face of the Shroud.

'Look,' he said, placing one on the desk before me, 'is it not a meditation in itself?' He bade me give one to each student.

The second occasion was the visit of Mr Neville Chamberlain and Lord Halifax in 1938. I was called to the presence of the Pope towards the end of the audience. His Holiness presented me to the Prime Minister saying, '*Ecco Signor Primo Ministro, il Nostro Delegato*'. I had just been appointed the Pope's Delegate in Great Britain. Afterwards he spoke warmly of the royal family and asked the distinguished visitors to convey his greetings. Shortly after that event the Pope died and I arrived in London to sing his Requiem in Westminster Cathedral.

Looking back on a great pontificate, one thinks of the Lateran Treaty and sees in Pope Pius XI a man of such determination and calibre that he was able to conclude an agreement with Mussolini which solved the so-called Roman Question that had been like a running sore in the relationship of Church and State.

So was born, not the sovereignty of the Pope which no human power could destroy, but the Vatican City State, a tiny point of territory, token of that spiritual sovereignty and independence now recognized once more. Without this the Vicar of Christ would be unable to exercise fully his spiritual fatherhood and jurisdiction; nor could he rule freely over the many millions of his flock in every continent.

During the seventeen years of his pontificate, in the uneasy years before the Second Great War, Pius XI ruled the Church with a firm and fatherly hand. After the signing of the Treaty and Concordat with Italy and with the retirement of Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, one destined to succeed him stood by the Pope's side.

It is chiefly to do honour to Pope Pius XII, then Secretary of State, that I write these lines, but it is my hope that these memories of earlier Popes whom I have known may be of interest.

Returning to Rome in 1930, I found a political scene very different from that which I had known in my student days. The old parliament had gone: one might say that it had passed away after a long illness patiently borne by the Italian people. They suffered for years from the instability of the system of government which handled their affairs. This weakness left the way open for the Mussolini regime. Despite its many defects, openly admitted by the Italian people, it found at first a welcome from many by reason of a steadiness and stability which gave relief after the political manœuvring of the old parliament. The monarchy still

stood, but, as time went on, the new regime with its rigid control began to lose favour and evoked wide adverse criticism, none the less strong because concealed.

Pius XI had been elected in the year of Mussolini's march on Rome. It used to be told that the future Duce had stood in the piazza with the crowd when the announcement of Cardinal Ratti's election was made. Not many in those days would have foretold the solution of the Roman Question, nor would they have dreamed of such a solution as that which saw the creation of Vatican City State and the signing of the Concordat.

When that came about, Cardinal Pacelli became Secretary of State. His tall spare figure was to be seen on ceremonial occasions and occasionally in the pulpit. During our stay at the English College Villa on Lake Albano we often saw the Secretary of State walking down the cool shady road from Rocca di Papa towards Albano, Italian police at a discreet distance behind. The Cardinal walked briskly, generally with manuscript in hand. After a while his car came alongside and he remounted it to take up again his burden of office in the heat of Rome. I had occasion to visit the Cardinal Secretary of State for conversation on various affairs, and first began to appreciate the attractiveness of his presence, which became well known to many during his long pontificate of nearly twenty years.

When the pontificate of Pius XI closed, in February 1939, there were many saying, and rightly so, that there was a tradition, unfavourable to the election of a Secretary of State to the papacy, but in that Conclave the minds of many turned to Cardinal Pacelli. The choice of the Cardinals came as no surprise to the multitude in the Piazza of St Peter's, nor to the Catholic world.

The new Pope Pius XII at once began his efforts for the preservation of peace; but these were in vain. Armies were already on the march, fleets on sea and in the air were mobilized: and a few months later the war began in all its fury bringing destruction, suffering and hunger in its train.

Of the Pope's unceasing endeavour to relieve suffering I can speak with personal knowledge, having played my modest part as the Delegate of His Holiness in Great Britain. His work of succour took the form of tracing the missing, sending his representatives to visit the prisoner-of-war camps, and giving money and material help, wherever access was allowed, to those in need. It may be mentioned that at the time, when we had thousands of prisoners in the Far

East, the Holy See was for a while the only helping hand that could penetrate the barriers that were raised.

Many are the incidents that could be recounted of the personal touch of the Vatican relief service. I tell of one only. An anxious British mother appealed to the Apostolic Delegation for help in finding the truth about her sailor son. She had heard that he had been picked up in the Mediterranean and was in hospital having lost both legs. At once an enquiry was begun. Before long a visitor from the Holy See was able to find the hospital. He learned that the boy had broken both ankles but was well and sent his loving assurances to his mother. It is not easy to forget the fervent gratitude of the anxious mother when the good tidings were telephoned to her.

In all this work of relief there was no question of race or creed. All that mattered was that people were in need. A deputation of Jews called at the Delegation after the war to bid us convey warm gratitude to the Holy See for all that had been done in defence of their people. In some instances, as I know, it was only the papal intervention that stood between Jewish victims and the firing-squad. Succour was not withheld even from men who were the enemies of the sublime cause for which the Holy See worked, serene and undismayed despite hostile criticism, misinterpretation and obstacles.

To write now in detail about the illustrious pontificate of Pius XII would seem superfluous after the world-wide appreciation of the Pope's long years in the Chair of Peter. Let it suffice here to trace the general lines of his outstanding contribution to religion, peace and Christian civilization. He was, as was the Baptist, a *vox clamantis in deserto*. For amid the havoc and ruin, the bloodshed and hatred, the voice of the Pope was raised to 'prepare the way of the Lord' and make straight the paths of peace.

As Pope Pius worked for this end most strenuously and as the years of his pontificate unfolded, it began to be realized that in the Pope's mind was the firm conviction that his important mission was to give instruction to a world perplexed, bewildered, groping for the truth. It dawned on the minds of the more enlightened men that the fruit of atheism, scepticism, agnosticism, and scientific humanism, was the loss of that brotherly love which can only find a rational basis in the acknowledgement of God 'from whom is all fatherhood in heaven and on earth'.

Thus it was not surprising to find groups and societies of all

faiths asking to be received by the Pontiff and to hear from his lips the explanation of the Catholic view on scientific, medico-moral and other problems. Men of goodwill naturally looked for light from one whose august office and spiritual fatherhood made him to be regarded by so many millions of God's children as the highest moral authority on earth. It was rather amusing to read in a newspaper that 'the Pope contrived to see all the important people who passed through Rome'. On the contrary it was they who sought audience with him.

Once when I was speaking to the Pope of his untiring work, he said simply, 'There are so many congresses!' He felt he could not refuse these societies that wished to hear the authoritative Catholic view on so many varied and intricate questions touching on man's religious belief and moral conduct. Receiving them with his wonted affability, the Pope would begin with some such sentence as, 'You have asked Us, Gentlemen, for a word of direction, approval and encouragement for your association.' In one particular instance it was a question of helping the blind by modern delicate eye operations and corneal transplantation. 'In this brief address,' said His Holiness, 'We gladly consider the objective you put before Us.' As the discourse proceeded, the Pope showed the most detailed knowledge of the subject: not merely knowledge of the medical terminology, but an awareness of all the juridical, moral and religious aspects of the question. (Address of 14 May 1956.)

Side by side with such addresses were those of high religious tone in which he expounded Catholic principles and practices and revealed his own deep and fervid piety. Who would not recognize the accuracy of those words with which he described the state of the world in 1957? Having indicated that the world offers so many lawful reasons for pride and security, he wrote of the terrible temptation to materialism:

This materialism is to be found not only in the condemned philosophy which rules the politics and economic life of a segment of humanity. It rages also in the love of money, and this ruinous love increases according to the dimensions of modern projects and, unfortunately, determines so many decisions affecting the life of the people.

He made it clear that he had in mind the cult of the body, the excessive search for comforts and the flight from austerity:

It prompts one to destroy human life and even destroys life before it sees the light of day. It is seen in the unrestrained seeking after pleasure . . . and again in reading matter and entertainment; for these seduce souls which are still pure. It is seen in the lack of interest in one's brother, in the selfishness that crushes man unjustly and refuses him his rights. In a word, it shows a concept of life whose standards in all things are only set forth in terms of material prosperity and earthly satisfaction. (Encyclical, *Le Pèlerinage de Lourdes*, 2 July 1957.)

It will be for later ages to appraise justly the rich content of the many volumes into which have been gathered the numerous discourses that make the pontificate of Pius XII so remarkable.

In his person Pope Pius XII has given an example not only of his deep realization of the *magisterium Ecclesiae*, the teaching Church, but of the fruitful use of modern means of communication in the interests of religion: of Pius, as of Peter and the College of Apostles, it can be justly said, as we find in the Divine Office: *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum*. His voice reached every land and his words were borne on the air over every frontier.

Need we write of his far-reaching concessions to human needs, of his 'pity on the multitude' and their longing for an easy approach to the Holy Sacrifice and the Blessed Sacrament? or of his keen interest in the Liturgy and his anxiety that the faithful should be brought in closer contact with the divine mysteries? His pontificate is a glorious page in the annals of Holy Church. To use his own words after his election, 'the flame of fatherhood' that was enkindled in his heart, burned always more brightly until it was spent in the heat of all the unceasing work of his sublime office.

I write from Rome where in these days we have been witness of memorable events. I do not remember having heard sweeter strains of Requiem than those of the three Masses for the late Pontiff. The first Mass chosen was Perosi's composition of which Pope Pius XII once said in an address, 'Who would not feel a thrill at hearing the rendering of the words *de morte transire ad vitam* in the music of Our Perosi?' We felt the same thrill as we thought of the long and fruitful life of the great Pontiff whom we had laid to rest near the tomb of Peter, the first of the long and illustrious line of the Vicars of Christ.

DIARY OF THE CONCLAVE

The Election of John XXIII

By SIR ALEC RANDALL, K.C.M.G.

Rome, 22 October

ON arriving in Rome, one's first impression, after an absence of some two or three years, is how well the eternal city contrives to absorb the noisy, garish life of this mass age. It is true that there are critics who say that Rome is ruined by modernity, and declare they cannot endure the traffic, the noise, the glare of advertisements, the vast piles of blocks of apartments still going up. As you approach by rail from Ostia and St Paul's-without-the-Walls, these cliffs pass slowly before you in the train, and proud Romans point them out and also call attention (though without mentioning the name of Mussolini) to the buildings of the Exhibition (a kind of superior Wembley)—including a great domed basilica—which was one of the material achievements of the Fascist regime. The sentimental traveller who knew Rome twenty or thirty or more years ago may be inclined to lament the change. But he will reflect that emotions like his have been experienced before, at least in every century or following big changes, going back to the Roman Emperors. Gregorovius, no lover of the papacy, said after 1870 that he could hardly bear to stay in this new capital of United Italy, where there was more or less the same expansion—nineteenth-century shops, offices and public buildings springing up everywhere; Rome, he lamented, had sunk from being the centre of the world to being the capital of a small country, a mere province. If he was grieved by the mediocre architecture of the Via Nazionale, what would he have said of the great modernistic Termini Station; the light and glitter of the advertisements, Gina Lollobrigida and Cary Grant, the incessant traffic of packed 'buses and innumerable cars, the brightly lit showrooms of cars, the offices of the world's chief airlines? The answer is that somehow Rome can absorb it all—the twentieth century, as it absorbed the nineteenth. The walls of

Servius Tullius do not, to my mind, clash with the modern station, and an admirably clean and efficient underground railway runs below, the quickest way of getting to St Paul's-without-the-Walls. This unique Roman faculty for reconciling the old and the new, the dignified and the vulgar, is, it seems to me, as potent as it ever was, though with such a rapid growth of population the traffic problem is probably worse than in any other capital.

23 October

This morning it is possible to wander round and read some of the innumerable posters, published in Roman fashion on the walls of houses, offices, churches, all dealing with the death of the Pope; tributes from the Christian Democratic Party, from several social, economic, and educational organizations not officially connected with the Church, all under various initials so that it is often impossible to gather who they all are—farmers, social workers, school-teachers, Catholic trade unionists. The biggest and most eloquent poster of all is that of the *Sindacato di Roma*, the municipality of Rome, and it is moving in its expression of grief at the passing of and gratitude for the achievements of him whom they call 'Pastor Angelicus', our great *concittadino*, he who showed such concern for the eternal city at its tragic moments; they also speak of his charity to all, without regard to difference of religion or race, and end by praying God to grant the accomplishment of those aims for which the Holy Father worked and prayed. This is a new note. It could not, of course, have been sounded in such days as those of Crispi, or Nathan, the Mayor of Rome; before the treaty of the Lateran it would also have been impossible for any Mayor of Rome to use such language, however attached to the Catholic Church and loyal to the papacy he might be in his private life.

The Lateran Treaty and Concordat have their critics in Italy, but the special relations between the City of Rome, capital of Italy, and a papacy whose international character and sovereign independence is fully recognized could hardly have been more impressively demonstrated than in the last few days; a remarkable contrast to the painful scenes which marked the burial of Pius IX. There might, as I am told—I was not present—have been some hitches in the final funeral scenes, but the co-operation between the Government and the Holy See made of the procession from Castelgandolfo an immensely impressive demonstration of devo-

tion to the Pontiff and appreciation of his office, whose international and supra-national character is emphasized and corresponds to the sentiments of successive Italian Governments, who have been prominent in their advocacy of greater European integration. Following this trend the leading Italian papers have pointed out the two-to-one preponderance of non-Italian Cardinals in the Sacred College, and some have even mentioned, without apparent resentment, the possibility of the election of a Pope of non-Italian nationality.

24 October

The posters about the death of Pius XII are beginning to peel off, and some people say he is already buried and beginning to be forgotten. This is not true; it is inevitable and natural that thoughts should turn almost at once to the question of who his successor will be. 'The Pope is dead, long live the Pope.' Speculation about the future Pope is not encouraged in Vatican circles; a few years ago—I think my memory is correct—François Mauriac was sharply reproved by the *Osservatore Romano* merely for publishing his thoughts on the possibility of a non-Italian Pope; this, the Vatican paper suggested, was a matter for the Holy Spirit, and not for writers. This does not seem altogether reasonable. The Pope is the highest spiritual authority, Vicar of Christ and infallible interpreter of the Catholic and Christian faith, but he is also the Governor of the Church and supreme responsible administrator and ruler of the Church's actions in relation to mundane affairs, the policy of Governments, economic and social questions and the necessary financing and organization of the vast central administration and the manifold claims on the Church for its missions and charitable enterprises throughout the world. Personal holiness alone is not enough for this most exacting office, and discussion of the other necessary qualities in the face of present problems is inevitable and within certain limits perfectly proper. Some writers, mainly outside Italy, have treated the question too much from the political point of view; their language has suggested something of little more seriousness than a local election. It is also true that gossip among Romans, with their extraordinary familiarity with holiness, has tended to give the impending Conclave the appearance of a sporting event; there is talk of a 'likely outsider' and even bets—but this is all very superficial, current talk not to be taken seriously.

The more serious comment is that which points out that there are heavy tasks of religious administration and policy, problems the newspaper writer is unaware of, and that it would be better not to concentrate on a 'political' Pope. A rather glib differentiation is made by some papers between those Cardinals who favour a 'transitional' Pope, that is one who might not be expected to have a long reign, and those that want a young and vigorous and stable governor of the Church. The *Osservatore Romano*, with justice, rejects this division, pointing to elderly Popes like Leo XIII, who had long reigns, and to Popes whose short reigns—Sixtus V, for example—were momentous in spite of their brevity. One responsible paper puts in the forefront the necessity for a reconciliation between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox East, an obvious hint at the suitability of the Armenian Cardinal Agagianian. But one could with equal conviction argue that the essential thing was the *rapprochement* of the Church with the working-class, of European Catholicism with Asia and Africa. The truth is that the choice rests, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, with Cardinals most of whom have hardly ever met one another and must be using these few days to form their judgement.

25 October

There are fifty-two Cardinals in or near Rome—one or two still in their near-by dioceses; only the Hungarian Mindszenty and the Yugoslav Stepinac and Cardinal Costantini, who on 17 October, died of a malady from which he was suffering, will be absent this afternoon at four o'clock when *Extra Omnes* is called and Prince Chigi, Marshal of the Conclave, locks and seals the doors and leaves the Sacred College to their deliberations and their voting—four times a day. But the famous smoke from the burnt ballot papers (black if there is no election, white if the choice of the new Pontiff has been made) will go up twice a day. This morning in St Peter's the votive Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung by the doyen of the Sacred College, Cardinal Tisserant, in the presence of the Cardinals (the Chinese Cardinal was disabled and is to be taken straight to his apartment in the Conclave): all but one or two walked in the long colourful procession with Noble and Swiss Guards, to the Altar of the Chair. The tribunes were full, but not the nave of the great Church. The Cardinal celebrant's voice sounded strong and clear, and the Palestrina Mass was sung

by St Peter's choir. Cardinals who returned to their place of residence stepped out into the sunshine at the end of the Mass, and after listening to a Latin address, *Oratio de eligendo summo Pontifice*, by Mgr Bacci, the Secretary of Latin Briefs, which he had prepared at the request of the Sacred College. He did this service at the last Conclave. He spoke of the virtues of the dead Pontiff and exhorted the Cardinals to choose wisely one of their number whose qualities should correspond to the needs of the Church and the world. In an eloquent passage, Mgr Bacci reminded the Cardinals that *Pontifex* meant a maker of bridges—'between the evil and the good, the different classes of citizens, between the nations whether they accept or reject the Catholic religion, a bridge leading to peace, the fountain of true prosperity.'

Later in the afternoon it was announced that Cardinal Mooney, Archbishop of Detroit, who was present in St Peter's this morning, had died suddenly of a heart-attack about two hours before he was due to enter the Conclave. This loss is generally mourned, but especially by the North American College here, where the Cardinal—seventy-six years of age at his death—was consecrated Archbishop some thirty-two years ago on his appointment as Apostolic Delegate to India. Fifty-one Cardinals thus entered the Conclave this afternoon.

With the important exception of the Iron Curtain countries—apart from Poland—whose hostility to the Church means that great numbers of their Catholic citizens will be prevented from taking, through their Cardinals, their indirect part in the election of the new Pope—the Conclave now begun could have been said to take place under ideal conditions of freedom and universal sympathy. The proposal by some Protestants in the United States that the American Cardinals should lose their votes in their own country because of their participation in an election in a 'foreign State' is treated here as a joke and seems to have been summarily dismissed by the State Department.

But in general, and above all in the disposition of the Italian Government and nation, this Conclave is noteworthy in contrast to previous Conclaves. Pius VI died in French exile, and the Conclave that elected Pius VII was prolonged in Venice by Austrian intrigues; this Pope, too, was the prisoner of Napoleon and only the victory of the Allies enabled him to return to the eternal city in triumph in 1814. The elections of the four succeeding Popes, Leo XII in 1823, Pius VIII in 1829, Gregory XVI in 1831 and Pius IX

in 1846, were all held in Rome without serious interruption, but the increasing lawlessness in the Papal States, the violent and often anti-religious form growing Italian nationalism took, and the way foreign Governments, above all Austria-Hungary and France and certain of the Italian States, used the papacy in attempts to further their political aims proved a serious embarrassment to the Church for nearly fifty years.

The unification of Italy, with Papal Rome taken by force as the capital, did not end the difficulty. Moderation and good sense were not lacking on the side of the Italian Government, but there were also ministers openly hostile to the Church and the Catholic religion and this made the question of the Conclave after the death of Pius IX one of great difficulty and delicacy. Some Cardinals held that no Conclave could be held in Rome in freedom and that advantage should be taken of the willingness of other Governments (in particular that of Austria-Hungary) to guarantee a freedom of election on their national soil. Fears of interference, or worse, were not without some justification. When the Law of Guarantees was debated in the Italian Chamber in 1871, Crispi and Mancini (then deputies) proposed that, on the Pope's death, the Italian civil authorities should have the right of entry into the Vatican and should seize it by force if resisted. There were even reports that the next Pope should be chosen by public election; the international character of the papacy would thus have been destroyed. In the event Mancini, now Minister of Justice and Public Works, had a change of heart and assured the Holy See that the Italian Government would give complete liberty to the Conclave. The Sacred College still hesitated; there was assurance of liberty from the Government of Vienna and some wanted to take advantage of this. But, among the Cardinals already in Rome—thirty-seven—thirty voted for Rome and the other Cardinals were summoned; sixty were present and elected Cardinal Pecci as Leo XIII. The Cardinal Archbishop of New York was unable to arrive in time; nowadays, with air travel and the extended time of preparation, no Cardinal need be absent, unless prevented by health or obstacles raised by Governments.

The disgraceful scenes which marked the transfer of the body of Pius IX to San Lorenzo fuori le Mura in 1881 were a sign of continued tension, but the election of Pius X in 1903 was marked by no untoward signs (the Italian Prime Minister Zanardelli, a dying man, remained at his post in order to obviate any Italian

crisis) except the threat of the Austrian veto against Cardinal Rampolla. This occasioned the new Pope's ruling that in future no governmental intervention in a Conclave was to be permitted. In the Italian Chamber, the Government was later asked whether the threat of the Austrian veto had been secretly suggested by the Italian Prime Minister, but this was denied; the election of Pius X was, in any event, universally popular, and agreeable to responsible Italian authorities. The Conclave that elected Benedict XV took place in September 1914, with the European war raging. It was known that the Italian Prime Minister, Salandra, had gone to pay his respects to the body of Pius X, but Italian intervention in the war made difficulties between the Holy See and Italy, and by the Secret Treaty of London the Allies bound themselves not to allow the Holy See to intervene in any way in the peace settlement. The next Conclave, in February 1922, found Italy in a state of internal crisis, but the election of Pius XI was a landmark in history. For the first time since the fall of the Temporal Power the new Pope blessed 'the city and the world' from outside the loggia over the front of St Peter's. The gesture of the Pope, still 'prisoner of the Vatican', was to foreshadow the Lateran Treaty of seven years later which at last formally reconciled Italy and the Holy See and gave the papacy, in the small Vatican City State, the sovereignty and independence it claimed.

This was undoubtedly to the satisfaction of the immense majority of Italians. But it did not mean the end of all difficulties and the Conclave that in March 1939 elected, in a very short time, Pius XII, met in the shadow of differences between the Holy See and Mussolini's Government. How the new Pope overcame these, strove for peace and came to symbolize for Rome the principles of mercy and justice and to be looked upon as *Pastor Angelicus* who saved the eternal city, the *Defensor Civitatis* from the full horrors of war—all this has been recalled in the last few days—is an imperishable page in the history of the papacy. The terms of Article 21 of the Lateran Treaty guaranteeing complete non-interference with the Conclave were scrupulously observed and the Fascist Press received a directive to greet the new Pontiff with respect, whoever he might be. But the threats from Nazi Germany, in practical command of Italy, with Mussolini a feeble and despised vassal of Hitler, so much impressed themselves on Pius XII's mind that he drew up a new Apostolic Constitution for the next Conclave. This was published on 8 December 1945 and its

rules, which were mainly a recapitulation and ordered re-statement of earlier ones, have been followed in the funeral of the late Pontiff and the organization of the Conclave now in session. Two features have been singled out, first that a vacancy in the papacy could be established by a renunciation of the Pontiff—a phrase held to reflect Pius XII's appreciation of the serious risk that he might, during the Second World War, have been seized by Hitler; the story goes that he said it would be 'Eugenio Pacelli' and not Pius XII who was taken prisoner. The other point is the evident desire to give greater elasticity and to provide rather more specifically than the previous constitution that the Pope need not be selected from the members of the Sacred College. The new Apostolic Constitution finally brought into line with modern conditions the old rules about secrecy; for example, the Cardinals must now swear, 'under penalty of excommunication, not to use wireless equipment, telephones, microphones or other instruments of reception or transmission' when in the Conclave.

26 October

One detail about the Conclave now proceeding is that in the centre of it is the Sistine Chapel, where the *Last Judgement* fresco of Michelangelo has been covered by a tapestry representing the descent of the Holy Spirit. An enquiring correspondent, recalling that the stall in the Chapel occupied at the last Conclave by Cardinal Pacelli was Number 13, thought this might have some significance—but found that the present occupant is a Spanish Cardinal.

Some 300,000 people, I am told, assembled in St Peter's Square today, and thought on two occasions that the smoke was white; excited scenes took place, cries of *Viva il Papa* and *Habemus Papam* were raised, but then the smoke changed to black and all knew there had been no election today.

27 October

Dismay and annoyance are pretty general this morning over the failure yesterday to give the right signal; even the Vatican radio authorities were misled by the white smoke, which is shown quite clearly in photographs published this morning. The Marshal of the Conclave has promised that the confusion shall not occur again, and that means of making the signals clear will be found.

The incident at least shows that the Conclave is really closed, and that no signal can come out except the traditional smoke. The election of Pius X is said to have been conveyed before the smoke appeared by an official from a window making a sign of scissors—alluding to the new Pope's name, Sarto, a tailor. Such mundane and comparatively unimportant details are common talk while the result is impatiently awaited—by a wider and more international audience than ever before in the history of the papacy.

This afternoon it is reported that the third *sfumato*, soon after eleven o'clock this morning, was definitely black, and the immense crowd was disappointed once more. It is also persistently reported that Cardinal Canali is seriously ill, and may have to leave the Conclave.¹ This afternoon's *sfumato* was also black—huge crowds there; many languages. But with some, especially the Americans, there is murmuring that since the Holy See makes good use of the most modern techniques of communication it should replace the traditional smoke by a flashing signal and a loudspeaker. Against this it is argued that this old tradition is one of the links between the ancient and the modern; certainly, so far as I can gather, the Romans would—in spite of the unfortunate confusion yesterday—resist any change in this time-honoured custom, and certainly anything like the moving neon light announcements that cross continuously at the top of the Times Square Building in New York would be generally anathema here. Meanwhile the *Osservatore Romano* has argued that the precise distinction between the black and the white smoke is a comparatively recent journalistic invention, and that the true tradition is more the quantity and density of smoke; a large amount means no election; a short small puff of smoke conveys the news that a Pope has been chosen. However that may be, the smoke yesterday on both occasions was black beyond all question, and the public tension grows.

28 October

The delay in the decision is not excessive in comparison with previous Conclaves; Pius XI, for example, was elected only after four days, and Benedict XV after fourteen ballots in seven days. But the expectations of a rapid decision like the very exceptional election of Pius XII having been disappointed, quite responsible observers are talking of a deadlock between two groups in the Sacred College, and speculate on the names of the *papabili* who

¹ This proved incorrect.

might be chosen as a compromise between two views, neither of which has any prospect of securing the necessary two-thirds plus one votes. The groups would be roughly the 'conservatives' and the 'progressives', and an Italian Government news agency yesterday hinted broadly at Archbishop Montini of Milan, in speaking of a 'suitable candidate chosen from outside the Sacred College'. But there is no suggestion of any Italian pressure; when the Conclave began it was generally assumed that, although there are only eighteen Italians to thirty-five non-Italians, the four-hundred-year-old tradition of electing an Italian would be followed if there could be agreement among the Italian Cardinals themselves. To go outside the Sacred College to choose a Pontiff would be a breach with a far longer tradition—about six hundred years.

The tendency to treat the election as a political contest is inevitable, but the way in which rumours of 'difficulties' and 'irreconcilable opposition' get spread is shown by the report that from out of the Conclave had come an instruction to have Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and special prayers in the 'parish church' of the Vatican, Sant' Anna, on account of 'grave difficulties'. No such instructions were given, or needed to be, since special prayers are enjoined in all the churches during the Conclave and, in fact, are widely said every night, sometimes including Exposition.

In the early evening, before sunset, the smoke went up clearly white and it was soon announced that Cardinal Roncalli, the Patriarch of Venice, had been elected Pope after the eleventh ballot and would take the name of John XXIII. In this the new Pontiff may be called an 'innovator', since there has not been a lawful Pope John since the twenty-second of that name, who was elected and reigned in Avignon from 1316 to 1334. The so-called John XXIII was an anti-Pope, set up in Pisa, who after five years—from 1410 to 1415—gave up his usurped position. Previous Popes who took the name John in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries were often unworthy of their supreme office, or were the victims of the turbulent and savage times in which they were called upon to rule the Church. It is not yet known why the new Pope took the name of John, but it is an interesting association that he was Apostolic Delegate in Bulgaria, and that Pope John VIII in the ninth century for a time succeeded in re-attaching Bulgaria to communion with Rome. This is the second Patriarch

of Venice to be raised to the papacy in not much more than half a century, and it is suggested that the avoidance of the name of Pius was an act of humility, in view of the fact that the last Patriarch of Venice became Saint Pius X. The Coat of Arms of Cardinal Roncalli bears his motto, *Obedientia et Pax*.

29 October

This lovely sunny weather continues, and early this morning the posters were going up on the walls, expressing the joy and devotion of the *Azione Cattolica* and other Catholic social organizations over the election of the new Pope. In the Piazza San Pietro a crowd—much smaller than usual—waited for the new Pope, but he did not appear. Photographs and even medals of the new Pope were already on sale—after all-night work by some enterprising people. The Conclave was prolonged until this morning, to give the Holy Father an opportunity, it was said, of consulting the whole Sacred College over some of the immediate problems of the new reign. A custom which the Pope revived was of placing his red *zucchetto* on the head of the Secretary of the Conclave, Mgr Alberto Di Jorio, indicating that he will be raised to the Sacred College at the next Consistory.

The new Pope, Angelo Giuseppe, was born seventy-seven years ago, of a peasant family near Bergamo. His father's name was Gianbattista—this, with his personal devotion, probably explains his choice of name; some people add that it is also a delicate compliment to France, John XXII having been French. Ordained in 1904 he served in the First World War, first in the ranks, then as a chaplain. His work after the war when he was spiritual director of the Italian office for the Propagation of the Faith took him to several foreign countries, and in 1925 he was made Titular Archbishop of Aeropolis and sent as Apostolic Visitor to Bulgaria. He continued in Vatican diplomacy and served successfully in Turkey and Greece, and in 1944 became Nuncio to the French Government of Liberation. It is notable that of all the many enthusiastic messages on the new Pope's election the warmest of all have come from France. In 1953 he became Patriarch of Venice, and made himself beloved in his Archdiocese.

In Italian circles very critical of certain members of the Sacred College, before Cardinal Roncalli's election, he was described as representing a 'progressive trend'; he is said, for example, to have

been very sympathetic in the early stages to the experiment of the French 'worker-priests', and his interest in social questions has been emphasized in a statement published this morning by the moderate Socialist leader Saragat (who as Italian Ambassador in 1944 to the Government of liberated France worked closely with the Nuncio); he gives a welcome to the new Pontiff and recalls his devoted care for the Italian soldiers in Paris in 1944, and adds that there is reason to hope, under John XXIII, for a reconciliation 'between Christian principles and modern doctrines founded on social justice and political democracy'; he concludes by associating his Socialist followers with the joy expressed by the Catholic workers. The ultra-Left Socialist Nenni also has commented in noncommittal but not unsympathetic terms that events will show to what degree the new Pontificate will contribute to a better understanding among the peoples. These statements may prove to be of importance in regard to the Holy See and internal Italian policy.

Although seventy-seven—an age which suggested to some the idea of a 'Pope of transition'—the new Pope is quite clearly alert and vigorous. In appearance jovial and heavily built, he is in complete contrast to the frail, spare figure of Pius XII. There is general expectation that he will tighten up Vatican administration and not delay very long in bringing fresh and younger personalities into the Sacred College. His first-hand knowledge of the Orthodox East has raised speculation whether he may not take some initiative there, and it is generally assumed that he will fill the long vacant office of Cardinal Secretary of State.

30 October

The Pope has, in a statement to the Cardinals published this morning, put all speculation at rest by saying why he took the name of John. The name is the most frequent of all, His Holiness said, and 'almost all Popes called John had short reigns'. But in addition St Mark, Patron of his beloved Venice, had the name John; there was also his own devotion to St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist; the Pope said he begged for their intercession in the pastoral ministry he had undertaken. Finally, St John was the patron of his cathedral of the Lateran.

The date of the coronation is not yet fixed, but it is announced that there will be a large and important Italian Government delegation to it, headed by the Prime Minister. The news of the

election of Cardinal Roncalli arrived in the middle of a debate in the Italian Chamber, and the sittings were (with the Socialists and Communists remaining in their places) suspended so that the Government could send its felicitations. The election seems to be very popular throughout Italy, and there is quite perceptible relief that a non-Italian majority of the Sacred College has chosen a Pope of Italian nationality.

31 October

The coronation of His Holiness John XXIII has been fixed for 4 November. It is the day of St Charles Borromeo, which is said to have influenced the Pope's choice. All the special missions from foreign heads of States and Governments are announced this morning, the Duke of Norfolk from Great Britain; the largest and most imposing mission will come from the French President.

With the homage of the Cardinals to the new Pope, yesterday—all present except the Chinese Cardinal Tien and Cardinal Dalla Costa, on account of illness—the Conclave is officially considered as over. A notable one in the history of the Church, for the universal attention it aroused in the whole of the non-Communist world, and for the way in which it demonstrated the essential solidity of the basis of settlement between the Holy See and Italy. The Municipal Council of Rome yesterday, in the Julius Caesar hall on the Capitol, heard the official eulogy of the new Pope from the Mayor of Rome, who has ordered posters to be put up everywhere praising the virtues of Pope John XXIII and associating the people of the eternal city with the joyful celebration of the Coronation. Such a manifestation has not been made since Rome became the capital of United Italy.

4 November

Various incidents in the past two or three days have illustrated the informality of the new Pope. He went to the Vatican Radio Station unannounced, and found only junior officials, who showed much concern and wished to call their superiors. But His Holiness did not allow this, and remained for some time talking with the young men about their work. He also went and chatted informally with some of the workmen engaged in the Vatican, and is said to have expressed the wish to the editor of the *Osservatore Romano* that his pronouncements should be given without any elaborate or

oratorical flourishes, fewer adjectives and adverbs such as *illuminato*. The unpretentious arrival and behaviour yesterday evening of the Pope's brothers and sisters is another incident that should be recorded; it recalls Pius X.

On the official side the most interesting news is that the Pope has appointed Mgr Tardini as Pro-Secretary of State; this is held to confirm the general expectation that the present Pontiff will appoint a Cardinal Secretary of State once more, probably at the next Consistory, which it is thought will be at Christmastide. At this, the Rome papers say, many of the present vacancies in the Sacred College will be filled.

St Peter's appeared in all its splendour this morning for the papal procession and High Mass that precedes the Coronation. By eight this morning the vast church was comfortably filled; about 28,000 tickets had been issued. It was a dull, wet morning, but as the papal procession in its wonderful display of colour and dignity moved up the nave to the accompaniment of roaring cheers, then of the silver trumpets from high up over the atrium, the sun came out for a while to add its gleams to the hundreds of glittering lights. Near the papal altar there was a flare of illumination from the television operators. Informal the new Pope may be, and of course unfamiliar with the ways of the Vatican and St Peter's, but he fitted into the splendid and long and complex ceremonial with ease, dignity and an especially paternal bearing as he gave the Apostolic Blessing from the *Sedia Gestatoria*. Towards the end he seemed exhausted—but the Coronation on the Loggia and the blessing *Urbi et Orbi* were not reached until past 1 p.m.—five hours of endurance exacting enough for a much younger man. I watched this part on television outside one of the newspaper offices and was struck by the respectful demeanour of the crowd; most removed their hats at the blessing. It is at times like these that one realizes that the Pope is once more a Father of the Roman people and a governing factor in, not a hindrance to, Italy's national unity.

The final word of these daily notes must be that in the past day or two 'reconstructions' or 'inside stories' of the Conclave have been published. These have no authority and cannot have any, and it would be useless to reproduce or summarize them. The character and trend shown by the election is already illustrated by the Pope's words and deeds, and will become clearer as his reign proceeds.

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE FIFTH REPUBLIC

The Nunciature of Archbishop Roncalli

By FRANK MACMILLAN

ONE of the great difficulties which must confront anyone embarking on a study of the relationships between Church and State in France since the Liberation is that the whole subject can be summed up in a phrase: there has been 'no change' since the far-off days of 1905 when the Third Republic denounced the Concordat of 1801 and decreed the separation of Church and State by the law of 9 December. This state of affairs was amended by the gradual process of allowing the provisions of the various anti-clerical laws to fall into desuetude and by the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Holy See in 1921. Since then the Third Republic has died in ignominy; the Vichy regime has come and gone, and the Fourth Republic which succeeded it; and the Fifth Republic is now installed.

The other major difficulty of such a study is that it has been done so much better and more authoritatively by His Eminence Cardinal Feltin in his address at the *Institut Français*, South Kensington, on 17 October 1955, the only publication of which, to this writer's knowledge, was in the Summer Number of *THE DUBLIN REVIEW* in 1957. It is a masterly study, in balance, compression, analysis and 'temperature'. It deserves to be much better known—not least in France; for much passionate, partisan and downright foolishness of analysis and judgement which appeared in other quarters would have been avoided by a scrupulous adherence to the tone and balance of that address in all other elaborations of the theme.

The facts of the great quarrel of the turn of the century between Church and State in France are sufficiently well known

from the textbooks.¹ It is no part of the present study to apportion praise or blame in the development of that situation as has been done by not a few distinguished authorities (temerarily, in my judgement) like M. Dansette in his *Histoire Religieuse de la France Contemporaine de la Révolution à la IIIe République*² and his *Destin du Catholicisme Français 1926-56*, followed to some extent by Professor D. W. Brogan in his *Development of Modern France* and *The French Nation from Napoleon to Pétain*.³ To my mind almost the best objective account of those days and the period till 1940 is to be found in M. Gabriel Hanotaux's re-edition of M. Georges Goyau's *Histoire Religieuse de la France*.⁴

The Constitution of the Fifth Republic, adumbrated by General de Gaulle's Government and approved at the Referendum of 28 September this year, has left the position of Church and State quite unchanged. But what was originally a situation made in an atmosphere of dramatic tension and high crusading anti-clerical zeal has been left unchanged as a well-trying working arrangement convenient to both sides.

Cardinal Feltin well summarized the nature of this change in his Address of 1955:⁵

The position today is vastly different from that of fifty years ago. The Catholic Church was then going through a painful period, although it had the benefit of the efforts of a number of men of great worth. There was some violent persecution. Men and women of the religious Orders were driven from the country and forced to

¹ The position is accurately stated in the *Catholic Year Book*, 1952 (Burns Oates, 1952), p. 152 dealing with the Constitution of 1946:

The first Article of the Constitution reads: 'France is a Republic, indivisible, laic, democratic and social.' The word 'laic' reaffirms the old secularist principle of the Third Republic, and there is no other provision in the Constitution bearing on the position of the Church or of Catholic citizens. The position created in the early years of this century therefore remains in law unchanged.

1901. Law of Associations: Religious Orders and Congregations made illegal without special *ad hoc* permissions.

1905. Denunciation by the Government of the 1801 Concordat with the Holy See, and, by the law of 9 December, separation of Church and State.

1907. Failing the appearance of *associations cultuelles*, for which the law of 1905 had called as a condition of public worship, special arrangements were made for the Church to use buildings which were technically the property of the Communes or Departments (The proposals for *associations cultuelles* had been rejected by St Pius X in the Encyclicals *Vehementer Nos* (11 February 1906) and *Gravissimo* (10 August 1906).

1921. Resumption of diplomatic relations with the Holy See.

² Flammarion, 1948 and 1957.

³ Hamish Hamilton, 1940 and 1957.

⁴ Plon, 1946.

⁵ THE DUBLIN REVIEW, Summer 1957, p. 34 seq.

seek refuge abroad, some of them finding a welcome in England. Even the smallest churches were forced to make inventories of their possessions. The Papal Nuncio was sent back. Separation of Church and State was decreed. Under threat of prosecution, priests were forced to give official notification of a public meeting before celebrating Mass, and there were in fact several prosecutions under this Order. Seminarians in Paris were sent into the Army when the concession by which clerical students did one year's military service instead of three was abrogated. Seminarians could not go out into the streets of the capital without being insulted and everything coming from the clergy was suspect. . . .

What a change there is today! In France both Church and State have their respective places, and they understand and respect each other. However distinct one is from the other, it is impossible in an organized society for the Church to ignore the State or for the State to fail to recognize the place of the Church. We believe that the more cordial the relationship and the more Church and State are separate but inseparable, the better it will be for the country as a whole. Recently the head of the French Government, not a Catholic, visited the Holy Father, and the Pope, who had hardly recovered from a serious illness, received him with full honours at the Vatican. The French Government was officially represented by Ministers at the beatification of the Marist Order, again at the beatification of the martyrs in China and thirdly at that of the martyrs of Laval.

These events, which all took place in 1955, are an indication of the excellent relations between the Holy See and the French Republic. Our regime is one of separation between Church and State, but it is a cordial separation. At Masses which Ministers are present in their official capacity, many no longer hide their faith but indeed rather make it apparent by following in their missals.

Since that date several significant items can be added to Cardinal Feltn's list. In 1957 President Coty paid a State visit to the Vatican, the first such visit by a Head of the French State for many centuries. Again, when General de Gaulle was called to office to resolve the last imbroglio of the Fourth Republic in June 1958, one of his first actions was to send a telegram to Pope Pius XII asking for prayers as he approached his heavy task; a message which was answered by an appropriately benign assurance of the Pope's solicitude for France in her difficulties. In the months between the events of May and the death of Pius XII France saw the remarkable spectacle of a parliamentary pilgrimage to Lourdes, composed of former premiers and ministers and deputies, during which the parliamentarians took part in the Stations of the Cross and carried the cross during the devotions. Such an

event would have been unthinkable even twenty years before; the deputies taking part would have been finished in public life—or, more important and inhibiting, would have judged the situation so.

Again, the last crisis of the Fourth Republic was marked by a notable speech in the Chamber on the occasion of General de Gaulle's investiture. After de Gaulle had left the Chamber one of the deputies, commenting on the various pronouncements in the debate and in the General's statement that sovereign power resided in the people, reminded the Assembly that this was a true statement—if it was understood by the speakers in the context that it was even thus a delegated power, and that all power came from God; and deplored the fact that no such statement was apparent in the Ministerial declaration.¹ Such language would have been inconceivable in any previous Assembly in this century. And later in the summer, when the Committees of Public Safety in Algeria demanded that their members should be authorized to resume individual political activity, a Committee of Sixteen criticized the draft Constitution on the grounds that it failed to recognize that there were other organizations than merely political parties which could receive official recognition and contribute to the national revival; and specified a 'corporative regime'. The Manifesto was dismissed curtly by most of the Paris Press and big-circulation periodicals as a reversion to the ideas of Vichy; but it was in fact quite consciously inspired by the social encyclicals of successive Popes; and if, as seems possible at this writing, a number of its signatories are among the three-score deputies from Algeria in the new Assembly after the November elections, such language may well be heard from the much more commanding platform of the Palais Bourbon.

Such was the temperature of Church-State relationships at the death of Pope Pius XII. And when the result of the Conclave showed that the post-Liberation Nuncio to Paris, Cardinal Roncalli, had been elected to the Holy See as John XXIII, there seemed every likelihood that the 'cordial separation' of Church and State in France would become even more cordial.² For, of

¹ Speech by M. Guy Jarrosson, Deputy of the Rhône *département*, published in the *Journal Officiel*, 3 June 1958.

² This would certainly have resulted from the increased French representation in the Sacred College of Cardinals immediately following the inauguration of the new reign (though, of course, this was merely an incidental result of a decision made for exclusively ecclesiastical reasons).

course, the excellent relationships noted by Cardinal Feltin, which had culminated in the visit of President Coty in 1957, had been continued by the diplomatic representation of France at the ceremonials of the funeral of Pope Pius XII and the enthronement of Pope John XXIII.

It was widely said that the former Patriarch of Venice would be a most congenial beneficiary of the French suffrages at the Conclave; and one can hardly doubt that so it transpired in the secrecy of the ballots. But the likelihood of 'cordial separation' becoming more cordial can be better illustrated by factual history than by solemn, high-level speculation. For while the present Pope was Nuncio to France his elevation to the cardinalate was marked by the ceremonial conferring of the red biretta, sent from Rome by Pope Pius XII, by the Socialist President of the Republic, M. Vincent Auriol, as required by protocol. The photograph of the ceremony has been widely reproduced in the Catholic Press, showing the Nuncio kneeling before the President and the biretta being conferred with all proper dignity. Not many people will have remembered that M. Auriol was, in his private capacity, avowedly *ni croyant ni pratiquant* but in his public capacity as Head of the French State, a Canon of St John Lateran. It was as good a symbol as could readily be imagined of the 'cordial separation'; and it was shortly followed by another such symbolical ceremony when the Nuncio left Paris to receive the red hat and become Patriarch of Venice—his farewell luncheon to all the Prime Ministers who had held office during his Nunciature (a comprehensive party, for the Premiers had been numerous), at which one of the most cordial toasts was proposed by Edouard Herriot, one of the old war-horses of Radicalism, who was himself some years afterwards to occasion, by the manner of his death and religious burial, vast scandal to the vigilant rump of anti-clericals.¹

It was far from surprising, then, that Pope Pius XII should nominate such an acceptable emissary as his personal representative in subsequent years at the dedication of the Basilica of Lisieux and the ceremonies to mark the opening of the Lourdes

¹ It may be added that the various visits to the Vatican by French political leaders and the messages sent to and received from Pope Pius XII were marked by unflinching protests from the various organizations still dedicated to the cause of militant laicism—and the protests equally unflinchingly found no response in public opinion, except perhaps vague irritation at these ancestral voices prophesying a war which was long since forgotten.

centenary year. These visits, with all the honours of protocol which marked them, significantly continued the tradition which had been marked by similar visits of the then Cardinal Pacelli to Lourdes and Lisieux twenty years before, the first during the Premiership of the late M. Léon Blum, likewise a Socialist, a Jew, who received an appropriate papal honour to mark the visit,¹ and who a decade later was to be *de facto* Head of State as well as Premier in the caretaker Cabinet before the inauguration of the Constitution of the Fourth Republic and the election of M. Auriol as President at the beginning of 1947.

These paradoxes of the attitudes of political personalities in their official capacities and their private persuasions would be mere banalities of history were it not for the fact that they do in fact as well as in surface appearance illustrate the truth of Cardinal Feltrin's thesis about the cordial separation of Church and State in France today. They are entirely aside from the pastoral pre-occupations of the Church in a country in which considerable areas are more or less dechristianized, and the various crises which have beset the Church in its attempt to evangelize the dechristianized *milieux*. The data of that problem and the vicissitudes of that crisis are sufficiently well known, and they were commented with masterly balance and sureness of touch and analysis by His Eminence in his South Kensington address. They are somewhat marginal to the present study; but it falls to be noted that Pope John XXIII is intimately familiar with that problem and those crises for having literally lived with them for a momentous period of years as the essential link between the Holy See and France, advising both parties and acting with discreet resolution as required. These things are profoundly significant for the immediate future of the relations of the Church and State in France—and for the relationships of Rome with the Church in France. Momentous—and promising.

It will no longer be possible for it to be insinuated (or more), as it has been not infrequently by certain French Catholic commentators during the last years of the late pontificate, that the Pope was 'unsympathetic' to the Church in France, or out of touch with French realities, or ill-advised, or misinformed intentionally or otherwise by his entourage, or the recipient of delations from malevolent trouble-makers in France. Pope John XXIII most

¹ M. Blum later paid a moving tribute in *la Populaire* to the memory of Pope Pius XI on the latter's death in 1939.

certainly knows the realities of the situation of the Church in France, the various movements and tendencies and the personalities who direct these; he has certainly every sympathy with the various initiatives which have been grappling with the problems confronting the Church; he knows the prelates who inaugurated and have directed these experiments—and he certainly retains their trust and affection; and he has also shown both tact and resolution as demanded by various circumstances in his personal dealings during his Nunciature. (It may be remarked that the insinuations under consideration must be considerably weakened when it is reflected that Pope Pius XII must certainly have leaned heavily for information and advice on the Nuncio who was to be his successor in the papacy, considering how steadily he honoured him with the highest missions to France subsequently as Legate on the greatest occasions.)

This review of the contemporary relationship of Church and State in France does little except illustrate how well-founded was Cardinal Feltin's inspired description of the present state of affairs as a cordial separation, and his exclamation, reviewing the atmosphere at the time of the Law of Separation, 'What a change there is today!' And the advent to the papal throne of the former extremely popular Nuncio to Paris gives to that review an immediacy and a promise which were impossible to foresee when this study was first contemplated. Reportage and topical comment have been given priority over historical retrospect by the march of events in October 1958.

Yet this pleasing contemporary scene is by no means the result of an inevitable development of the history of the Church and State since the Liberation. Patience and discretion and personal affability have contributed immensely to retrieve and restore a situation which was often dramatically tense, sometimes tragic, and not infrequently pregnant with terrible discords. The elements which produced these critical situations were incarnated in men; but the men were the children of terrible events of recent history; and when that history is written, not dispassionately (for that is hardly possible for another generation or more), but with a sympathetic appraisal of the tragic dilemmas of all the actors in the drama, the factor which will be most evidently responsible for the retrieving of desperate situations will be seen to be the overwhelming pastoral solicitude of the French bishops; and, in their difficulties, the influence and advice of the future John XXIII

must often have been decisive and always a very present aid and comfort.

The first crisis which confronted the Church in its relations with the post-war Governments of the Fourth Republic came from the fact of the change-over from the Vichy regime to an atmosphere of post-Resistance *épuration*. The Church had officially and publicly supported the Government of Marshal Pétain. It could do nothing else. That Government was a legal thing, recognized by all the non-belligerent Powers as truly and legally representing France and the overwhelming will of the French people in 1940. The Vatican was represented at Vichy at the same level as the United States and the Soviet Union (which made its representative an Ambassador—for its own reasons, certainly; but nonetheless it was a factor which demonstrated the legal and diplomatic validity of the *Etat Français*). As the war progressed and the Resistance grew, instances were multiplied at the lower echelons of the Church of sympathy with and assistance to Resistance organizations. At the level of the episcopate there were, from the beginning of the Occupation, numerous examples of reprobation of such measures as the laws discriminating against the Jews; and personal, public resistance to such decrees. Certain cardinals and bishops were legends epitomizing refusal to accept the Occupation forces and administration beyond the limits of bare necessity and sometimes not to the limits of bare civility.

But the over-all record of the Church was, as was inevitable and proper, one of co-operation with the legal Government of the country right to the end of the Vichy regime. When Marshal Pétain went on his final tour of France, in the spring of 1944, he was received everywhere with the same enthusiasm and the same massive crowds as greeted General de Gaulle a few weeks later. And Church dignitaries did not fail in their recognition of the Head of the State.

Some weeks later, when the Provisional Government of General de Gaulle assumed authority in Paris, the Church was equally ready to recognize and work with the new regime. One of the last public acts of the Government of the dying Third Republic (composed mostly of convinced 'laicists') had been to attend a solemn Mass of intercession in Notre Dame. The Government of Marshal Pétain had been frequently and prominently present at solemn Masses during the Occupation. Now the new Government, headed by the Catholic General de Gaulle and the

Catholic M. Georges Bidault, President of the National Council of the Resistance, immediately attended a solemn *Te Deum* in Notre Dame; but Cardinal Suhard was forbidden access to his own cathedral for the occasion.¹

Such was the atmosphere of those days. Wild words were spoken and written, as by Georges Bernanos in *Le chemin de la Croix aux Ames*. Many bishops and other dignitaries were among the number of those most vehemently accused of and detested for 'collaboration'. On the other hand, other names were quoted as shining examples of patriotism and resistance: some of ecclesiastics, others of laymen—many of the latter unknown on any national scale before the Occupation. Mgr Guerry, secretary to the Assembly of Cardinals and Archbishops, brought out a history of the Church in France under the Occupation,² which emphasized and abundantly illustrated the manifold forms of resistance of the Church at all levels. It was a history and a tract for the times; and it was urgently needed to redress the balance of criticism of those times. Significant changes took place: former leading personalities were retired from the forefront of events and replaced by others more congenial to the new trend of events; the Lenten sermons in Notre Dame, for example, were assigned for several years to Fr Riquet, s.j., a notable deportee and sufferer in concentration camps.

It was a pretty open secret that many of the former Resistance leaders were anxious for a large-scale clearance in the bishoprics; one which, if it had been realized, would have been the greatest such mutation since Pius VII dispossessed eighty-one bishops after the Concordat in 1802; which, as Fraysinous noted at the time, meant that the religious destruction accomplished by the revolutionary Constituent Assembly had ultimately resulted in 'the greatest act of pontifical authority for eighteen centuries'.

But in 1802 Pius VII had acted as he saw fit to restore the authority of the Holy Sec. Pius XII was by no means disposed to act at the behest of the French Government for reasons not convincing to him. He had counselled General de Gaulle, before the Liberation, to seek an accommodation with Marshal Pétain and ensure a valid and bloodless *passation des pouvoirs*; which both Pétain and Laval strove to contrive on their side by the inter-

¹ *Histoire de la Libération de Paris*, by M. Adrien Dansette (Arthème Fayard, 1946), p. 415 seq.

² *L'Eglise Catholique en France sous l'Occupation*, by Mgr Guerry, *Secrétaire de l'Assemblée des Cardinaux et Archevêques de France* (Flammarion, 1947).

mediary of M. Herriot.¹ The situation between Paris and the Vatican was extremely tense, and so remained for some time, as was evident when M. Jacques Maritain presented his credentials as first post-war Ambassador to the Holy See.²

Clearly a change was appropriate also in the diplomatic representation of the Vatican in Paris. The new situation demanded a new man. And that man was Mgr Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, who came as Nuncio in 1945. His term as Nuncio was to last till 1953; and the President with whom he was to deal during most of that term, M. Vincent Auriol, was invested as Head of State in February 1947.

The immediate crisis was skilfully reduced in proportions. Only three mutations eventually took place in the episcopate. It was a notable inauguration of the Nunciature. But much remained to be done before the terrible passions of the post-Liberation period were anything like appeased. That they were eventually so largely abated, at least in Church-State relations, must be laid very largely to the credit of these two men, so widely apart in every conceivable factor of background, so similar in so many qualities of mind and heart, brought together in the course of their public lives at this critical stage in French affairs—Mgr Roncalli and President Auriol.

It was, in retrospect, an almost impossible task; for the French have long memories—and on both sides there were many and very bitter things to remember, unforgettable, unforgiven.

But the comparative speedy resolution of the crisis between Paris and the Holy See in the affair of the bishoprics was due also to the awakening of public interest in the vitality of the post-war Church in France. Bernanos' wild attacks on Cardinal Suhard seemed merely irrelevant to the French public, which suddenly discovered the astounding story of the cardinal's authorization of the underground missionaries to the compulsory labour service corps into the heart of Germany during the war; of the anguish of the father in God at the revelations of investigations like those of l'Abbé Godin into the dechristianization of industrial Paris; and the pastoral preoccupations, the hopes and fears of Pastorals and studies like *Essor ou Déclin de l'Eglise* (1947). The relationships of the Church and State which formed a necessary and important part of

¹ Dansette, *Histoire de la Libération de Paris*, p. 97 seq.; and Annexes II, III, VIII, IX, X, pp. 465-9.

² *La Documentation Catholique*, 10 June 1945.

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the official life of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris—whether the State was the Third Republic or the Fourth or Vichy—were remote things by comparison with this priestly solicitude.

That interest grew, reaching world-wide proportions with the launching and vicissitudes of the *prêtres-ouvriers* experiment. Novels and plays were based, more or less accurately, on that imaginative apostolate; innumerable reportage, studies, articles, controversies sprang up around it. On that particular crisis Cardinal Feltin's South Kensington address said, with balance and sobriety, all that need now be recalled of the controversy and its *dénouement*:

To succeed these missionaries become workers among the workers, sharing their suffering and their lives in all that is not sin. They try to find a way of introducing the Gospel in a soil that is perhaps more sterile than that of China because it received the word before and allowed it to die.

The missionaries then are dissatisfied with their efforts and ready for any sacrifice for the success of their mission, and they want to find the right spot to introduce a knowledge of the Gospel and of the Church. They have a great part to play, but their task carries with it great risks, and vigilance is necessary to see that they carry it out without causing dislocation and crisis. There have been a certain number of deficiencies, particularly in regard to recruitment and training. . . . Even among the missionaries themselves there have been failures to understand fully the priestly function.

. . . In fact, though the Church has decided that the experiment cannot be continued on the lines on which it was started in France, she has not abandoned her missionary activities among the working class, for which there is a real need. The crisis has shown how essential is a new solution to the problem which will safeguard the priestly life of the missionaries.¹

At first glance it might be imagined that this tremendous crisis which, in its promising and exciting beginnings effectively diverted public attention away from the tension of the controversy over the episcopate and towards a consideration of the Church's pastoral and missionary attitudes, would be a purely domestic matter for the normal overseeing and disciplinary machinery both in France and Rome. But in the fierce final controversy when Rome sent directives for the ending of the *prêtres-ouvriers* experiment and the reconstitution of the *Mission de France* with a new canonical status the affair assumed the proportions of a fresh crisis in the relationships of Church and State, in this case

¹ THE DUBLIN REVIEW, Summer, 1957, p. 38.

specifically affecting the role and activities of the Nuncio.¹ For a variety of reasons it became evident that it would be undesirable and perhaps impossible that the final decisions and directives should come exclusively through the normal channels of the French episcopate. The Vatican and its representative in France must be seen to play the decisive part, after all due consultations, in the final phase of the crisis.²

That this second great crisis passed without endangering the relationship of Church and State, and that the news of the determination of the Church to continue the missionary effort along new lines was announced so speedily (and the necessary canonical statutes so quickly adumbrated) that critical opinion was given something constructive to consider instead of discouraging communiqués of admitted failure and controversial disciplinary measures—all these were the last great service rendered by Mgr Roncalli in his Nunciature. The full measure of that service can be appreciated to some degree by the tone of Cardinal Feltin's South Kensington address only a few months after the height of the crisis—a tone of confidence, serenity, clear-sighted appreciation of difficulties past and to come, but above all of hope.

Since that crisis there has been little else to provide the controversialists with such explosive material; and there this chronicle might have adequately ended but for the further demonstration of Cardinal Feltin's thesis in the result of the Conclave, the implications of which have been noted earlier. The enthusiasm which the election of Pope John XXIII provoked in France was possibly not greater than in any other country; but it had more intimate and well-founded national justification. Venice may have more local enthusiasm at seeing its second Patriarch of the century succeeding to the Holy See, and more recent experience of his pastoral qualities; but France, knowing her debt to his tact, affability, acquaintance at the highest and lowest level with the

¹ The most balanced and copiously documented account of the great controversy is probably *Grandeurs et Erreurs des Prêtres-Ouvriers*, by M. Pierre Andreu (Amiot-Dumont, 1955), which generously praises the *grandeurs* and charitably analyses the *erreurs*, besides vividly illustrating the paternal anguish and never-failing tact of the French Bishops in their dealings with the problem. M. Dansette's *Destin du Catholicisme Français 1926-56* (Flammarion, 1957), also treats the question extensively.

² Andreu, *op. cit.*, p. 166 seq. The great controversies which at one stage threatened to involve the role of the Nunciature in the affair are here treated magisterially. It is unnecessary here to make more than a passing reference to this aspect of the crisis; but the immense value of Mgr Roncalli's *liaison* work in this second great crisis of his Nunciature can only be appreciated in this context, and it is hardly possible to exaggerate its importance.

crisis of the modern industrial apostolate, combined with decisive and courageous resolution at the appropriate juncture, realizes probably better than any other country in Christendom that Venice has providentially produced another Pontiff with the qualities of St Pius X.

And this time that knowledge, common to all who have closely observed the relationships of Church and State in France since 1945, is not, *post facto*, a revelation of a tragic collision between the two. That the two great crises of the period did not develop into another tragic imbroglio was certainly due to the labours of clear-sighted men of good will on both sides; but above all both France and Rome can attribute the present promising relationships to the diplomacy of His Excellency the Nuncio Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli.

RACE RELATIONS AND THE CHURCH IN BRITAIN

A Difficult and Urgent Problem

By RICHARD GRAY

FROM the Bulls of Pope Paul III in 1537, in defence of the freedom and property of the original inhabitants of the West Indies, to the denunciation of Nazi racism 400 years later in the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge*, the Catholic Church has resolutely opposed attempts to deny the dignity and unity of man. The diversities and inequalities of human groups come from the chances of history or geography; they do not imply any genetically inevitable inferiority. Recently in South Africa the Hierarchy proclaimed its complete opposition to the attempt to enforce racial separation within the Church and condemned the policy of *apartheid* as 'essentially evil and anti-Christian'. The scene has now shifted home to this island where the Church is faced with a difficult and urgent problem.

Inevitably race relations in Britain have been profoundly

changed by the events of August and September and the publicity which surrounded them. Although numerically still insignificant the Overseas students and workers in this country are now a subject of intense and continuing interest to Arkansas and Accra, Pretoria and Delhi. They are no longer merely a minor, unheeded domestic problem. Suddenly the badge of colour has become critically distinct in our streets. Henceforth there is a danger that all situations involving a coloured person will be classified in terms of race, however irrelevant that factor may be. A brawl will be seen as a race riot, discourtesy will be interpreted as discrimination. Differences will become accentuated and individuals will be classified at sight. Stereotypes, rigid conceptions of group characteristics, distort the relationships between individuals of groups often physically indistinguishable; they become far more dangerous in cases where colour vividly and immediately identifies the individual. Some people, therefore, anticipate a steady increase in tension, a succession of race riots, unless new barriers of defence and control are introduced. Others are relieved that issues too often ignored are now being confronted, and trust that they will prove no more insoluble than many other social problems. Public opinion is still hesitant and uncommitted; all are agreed that this is a moment of peculiar importance.

This change, this new interest and importance, are undiminished even though it is now possible to see that early reports of the events at Nottingham and North Kensington were greatly exaggerated. The casualties of the drunken scuffle in St Anne's Well Road, Nottingham, on Saturday, 23 August, all occurred in a matter of seconds before the arrival of the police, who had the situation under control within forty-five minutes. But even the most sober of Monday's papers spoke of 'several hours of disturbance', and none of the papers made it clear that West Indians also had been seriously injured in the initial scuffle. Thirty-five newspapermen immediately arrived in Nottingham, and one paper gave prominence to an apparently completely fictitious report that the local teddy-boys had become 'the self-appointed guardians of the peace', protecting the white inhabitants against the coloured menace. As a result, on the following Saturday, 30 August, youths and sightseers crowded into the area about 3000 strong. No racial incidents occurred, but attacks were made on the police and the crowd's mood and movements were given considerable publicity. On the third Saturday night, 6 September,

there was a minor clash between a crowd of about 200 persons and five West Indians, but by eleven-thirty the Press and the police were the only people to be seen. All these incidents were restricted to a small locality and the rest of the city remained undisturbed.

In London the outbursts were part of a longer and more serious process of tension and violence, though here also they were exaggerated by the Press. In July teddy-boys from the White City estate, adjacent to the Notting Dale and Notting Hill area of North Kensington, twice attacked a café owned by a coloured man, and on 17 August they smashed the windows of a house occupied by coloured people. On the night of the first disturbances in Nottingham, 23-24 August, six West Indians in various parts of Notting Hill were badly injured by teddy-boys wielding iron bars. Subsequently the nine youths, eight of whom came from the White City estate area, were stated to have admitted that they were 'nigger-hunting', or looking for coloured men 'to beat them up', and they were each sentenced to four years' imprisonment. This deliberate aggression, linked with the publicity given to events at Nottingham, caused fear and anger to mount on both sides. The following weekend disturbances and clashes occurred between crowds of two to seven hundred people in Notting Dale. Minor damage was caused to three houses; twenty whites and six coloureds were arrested, whose average age was about twenty although older people also took part. On Monday, 1 September, these incidents received wide publicity. Some papers were soon heading their reports with captions such as 'Race War', and many of the reports were inaccurate and misleading. That evening in Notting Hill, at the only effective fascist meeting, teddy-boys were publicly excited by the speakers. About the same time cars driven by members of the British Union Movement were, it is reliably stated, being used to press-gang ex-borstal boys into activity. That evening and the next crowds moved through the Notting Hill-Notting Dale area. Several people were injured and the windows of five houses were smashed, but the police were out in force and many arrests were made. During the next ten days isolated incidents were reported from neighbouring areas. In all 177 people were arrested, of whom 126 were white, 45 West Indians and 6 other coloureds. No serious incidents were reported from either Brixton or the East End where there are large coloured communities and a considerable

number of teddy-boys, and disturbances did not occur in other towns. Indeed, little is known about the areas where relationships are satisfactory. Editorials deplored the outbreaks of violence, but there can be little doubt that the sensational reports in certain sections of the Press greatly exacerbated the situation. Coloured people have for several years attracted adverse publicity: minor criminal cases have been headlined if a coloured person was involved, and there have been occasions when an editor has persisted in publishing an unfavourable report even when its authenticity has been disproved by the authorities. An emphasis on the actions of a few irresponsible individuals merely detracts attention from the more fundamental problems which formed the background to the recent troubles.

Unemployment is now the principal difficulty facing the coloured worker. At the end of July over 17,000 of the total coloured population, which is estimated at about 200,000, were believed to be unemployed. This figure included some 8000 West Indians out of an estimated total population of 107,000 West Indians in Britain. In September coloured workers were estimated to be a quarter of the total unemployment in the Midlands and almost half the unemployment in Birmingham. In Nottingham nearly 15 per cent of the coloured people are unemployed, whereas unemployment affects less than 1 per cent of the city's population as a whole. Three years ago a newly arrived West Indian found a job within an average of three days; now the average is six weeks and some men have waited unsuccessfully for nine months. This seems to be partly due to the recession and partly to factors specially affecting the West Indians. There is a rising demand for skilled workers, but few migrants possess the standard of specialization needed in Britain. West Indians themselves are convinced that it is largely colour prejudice that stands in their way. In Nottingham racial discrimination over employment was the chief complaint, the main source of bitterness, among West Indians before August, and there had been angry scenes at the Employment Exchange. The facts are by no means clear, though prejudice on both sides of industry is by no means non-existent. The T.U.C. expects each Union to judge the immigrants fairly, and officially the unions are opposed to colour discrimination as a matter of principle. Union officials are, however, uneasy about uncontrolled immigration, and West Indians have found it difficult and even impossible to gain admission to some

unions. Recently a Labour M.P. has stated that nearly every working-men's club in Wolverhampton operated a colour bar. Yet some unions have introduced special training schemes, and the unions have at least been much less hostile to British coloured immigrants than they were to Italians and Hungarian workers. In September the Federation of Associations of Catholic Trade Unionists supported the T.U.C. in deploring the race-riots. The Federation urged Catholics to integrate coloured people into parish and trade union life and to appreciate 'the contribution the coloured immigrants have made to our economy'. Some employers are reluctant to employ coloured labour, finding them irresponsible and lazy, and one investigator in Stepney reported that eight out of ten employers of coloured labour only employed them as a last resort. Other employers have found West Indian labour more satisfactory in some respects than British, and on the whole, once a job has been obtained, West Indians generally succeed in establishing satisfactory relationships. On public transport, for instance, they have earned a good reputation both with passengers and fellow-workers. The employment situation, then, is by no means desperate, but the search for a job often brings bitterness and frustration and a minority are out of work.

Lack of adequate, dispersed housing is the other great difficulty facing coloured immigrants; more than any other factor it prevents their easy assimilation into English life. It is a difficulty they share with many coloured students. In 1953 nearly 85 per cent of the landladies on the books of the London University lodgings bureau were unwilling to take African or West Indian students. Some landladies fear that a difference in home background will create difficulties; some fear what the neighbours will say; others merely increase the price. Many students have spent their first days in Britain attempting to break through this colour bar, and many have been forced to accept sub-standard lodgings. The position is even more difficult for the married migrant worker. At present he is almost completely dependent on a few landlords who are prepared to recognize and exploit his predicament. Houses, or parts of houses, are purchased in an area in which property values are already falling. The landlord is able to pack several coloured families into inadequate accommodation at an exorbitant rent, trusting that his tenants, fearful of losing their only shelter, will not go to a rent tribunal. The arrival of the first coloured families is taken by the other residents as a sign that the

area is developing into a slum and there is a rush to leave. With those that remain racial tension quickly develops in the cramped, squalid environment provided for the immigrants. Notting Dale in North Kensington is such an area. For many decades it has contained a fairly large white criminal population. In the last two or three years between forty to seventy companies, run by a few men mostly of alien birth, have been formed to operate within this area, or immediately adjacent to it, purchasing property and letting rooms without restriction on crowding. By August about 7000 coloured people were living in North Kensington. At Nottingham, in the area of St Anne's Well Road, a similar process had taken place though on a much smaller scale, the total coloured population being about 3000. Here West Indians had also begun buying their own property, much of which would have been condemned on grounds of public health had the authorities been able to provide alternative accommodation.

Despite these difficulties most of the immigrants in Nottingham were beginning to settle in to the normal life of the city. They had formed a flourishing Colonial Social and Sports Club which co-operated with the local Rotary Club and helped other societies on occasions such as flag days. Nine members of the Club represented the immigrants viewpoint on a Consultative Committee for the Welfare of Coloured People set up in 1955 by the Nottingham Council of Social Service. But while most of the immigrants were being accepted as decent, and often delightful, citizens, a small minority aroused the resentment of their white neighbours. 'Wide boys'—probably derived from 'wide-awake', eyes open for easy money—with flashy clothes and knives, were involved in organized prostitution in the area of St Anne's Well Road. It was this small but conspicuous minority which sprang into people's minds as soon as the trouble began on 23 August, and as publicity built up the affair their significance as an explanation seems to have increased. In Notting Dale it was far harder for the immigrants to enter a decent community life; instead the environment naturally fostered crime. In the two years before the outbreak of violence twenty-two coloured men had been convicted of living on immoral earnings in this area. In London as a whole one-tenth of those convicted for this offence in 1957 were West Indians. Here again it was only a very small minority who were guilty, but their activities increased a widespread prejudice and strengthened

sexual jealousy. In many areas a white girl seen with a coloured man is branded as an outcast, and on a rather different level this same feeling contributes much to the basic loneliness of many coloured students. In July the case of a dance-hall in Wolverhampton which proclaimed a complete colour bar attracted much attention. In Notting Dale this feeling and the friction over housing led many adults to lend tacit or active support to what might otherwise have been regarded as normal teddy-boy activity to be suppressed in co-operation with the police.

Jobs, women and houses are thus the main issues around which racial tension and bitterness have developed. In some areas these difficulties are being overcome, and each race has made readjustments. At the time of writing no further outbursts have occurred, but there is no guarantee that something similar could not break out again. Some people feel that the situation is serious enough to warrant an immediate, strict control of coloured immigration. They point to the steadily increasing pressure of population in the West Indies and to the fact that the coloured population in Britain has doubled since 1954. They feel that unemployment will increase and that the British standard of living may be threatened. There has even been apparently serious talk of five hundred million British subjects technically entitled to immigrate. But the figures of immigration hardly justify any immediate alarm. It is estimated that in 1957 less than one-quarter of the total number of immigrants were coloured, while in 1957 emigration exceeded immigration by approximately 72,000 people. One set of official figures of immigration in 1957, which does not include non-working dependants, gives a total of 30,000 from the British Colonial territories, of whom 18,500 came from the West Indies, and 30,000 from the Commonwealth, of whom 11,000 were from India and Pakistan though all were not necessarily nationals of those two countries. Against this must be set the figure of 68,500 from Eire and 60,000 from foreign countries, which included a non-recurring element of 20,000 Hungarian refugees. Does this percentage justify all that would be implied by enforcing a colour bar at British ports? If unemployment substantially increased, and if continued immigration was demonstrably a cause of this increase, there might be a valid argument for imposing, with, it would be hoped, the consent of all governments concerned, some temporary restrictions on all immigrants, regardless of colour, who had no good prospects of finding

work. But should any such steps eventually seem necessary they should be matched by a practical recognition on behalf of the British people that economic aid on a serious, unprecedented scale is needed by the peoples of the Caribbean, Asia and Africa. Catholics in particular, with their special approach to the population problem, would seem necessarily to be committed to taking a leading part in such a campaign. If the West Indian immigration were to bring home to the British public the needs of their Colonial and Commonwealth neighbours, it might become one of the really significant events in the post-war world. Merely to become more insular and relatively ever more wealthy would scarcely be an appropriate response.

There seems therefore at present to be no valid economic reason for banning coloured immigration. Are there any other reasons for restricting it? Dr Bertram, the secretary of the Eugenics Society, has recently argued, with 'a wide measure of agreement' from the Society's Council, in favour of imposing an annual quota on West Indians wishing to enter the United Kingdom. He also calls for 'a deliberate and extensive effort' to educate people to appreciate 'the qualities of the human or group which is exotic' and to recognize that 'breeding with what is different is more likely to lead to trouble than to happiness'. Dr Bertram admits that it is still virtually impossible to judge the ultimate biological benefits or disadvantages of miscegenation. To justify his far-reaching conclusions, therefore, he is forced to argue principally from what are essentially social phenomena. In fact in his twenty-four-page broadsheet only four pages are devoted to biological and eugenic considerations. He dwells on the existence of a 'colour feeling', on the desire of certain people to erect racial barriers, on the fact that many half-caste children are 'seriously handicapped', though this on his own evidence would seem to be caused by their social environment. Social phenomena, however, are, it is generally recognized, amenable to social action. Apart from these only one other fundamental disadvantage of coloured immigration is adduced. This is the theory that in evolution, seen by some people as 'an aspect of God's will', mankind was moving 'towards specialization in accord with climatic and other environmental factors'. Communications in the modern world have made possible 'an emotional and a genetic chaos' which could stultify this 'great developing pattern of human evolution'. No scientific facts are presented to support this theory of continental biological

specialization. In the meantime a layman might point out that this theory has certainly not prevented the white race from settling in many varied parts of the world, and it is a little difficult to understand why miscegenation itself could not be a perfectly natural and beneficial response to changed circumstances in some areas, leaving aside mention of 'hybrid vigour'. It is of course as Dr Bertram puts it 'impossible to unmix', but is miscegenation likely to occur on a really large scale in Britain? Already, in the last three years, more than half of the West Indian immigrants have been either women or children, the majority being women. Many of these are coming to join husbands, others, now single, will doubtless find husbands primarily amongst the migrant males. It is likely then that miscegenation will be restricted to a mere fringe of the population, at any rate until sufficient time has elapsed for more accurate scientific data to be available. Incidentally it is perhaps worth adding that a Catholic priest in Moss Side, Manchester, reports that there are in his area 'very many mixed racial marriages which are very happy'. The majority of unhappy marriages, he feels, are those when marriage is a mere convenience. Could it be that a priest has a more profound understanding of the springs of human happiness?

We are left therefore with the problem of assisting these students and workers to settle, for a time at least, in our islands. It is with this problem that the Church is primarily concerned. In recent years there has been an enormous increase in the number of overseas students. In 1939 they could be numbered in hundreds; now there are approximately 38,500 in universities, technical colleges, hospitals and other training establishments, while the number is likely to increase. 26,425 of these students come from the Commonwealth and U.K. dependencies, of whom 7380 are from West Africa, 4650 from India, Pakistan and Ceylon; 3495 from the Caribbean territories, 3000 from Hong Kong, Malaya and Singapore, and 1755 from East Africa. Under 2000 of the total number of students, both foreign and Commonwealth, are aided from Britain or international funds; very many of them are financed by themselves or their families, and the rest are financed by their own governments. Since 1950 the British Council has been primarily responsible for their welfare. A very great deal has been done to assist them in hostels, international student centres, reception and introductory courses. Half the students live in London and it is these in particular who suffer from isolation,

loneliness and accommodation problems. To meet their needs the Council has sponsored a Conference of Voluntary Societies on the Welfare of Overseas Students in London, and through local committees in the boroughs it seeks to co-ordinate and promote this work.

The opportunity and responsibility which the students from the Mission fields present to the Church in this country has recently been emphasized by the encyclical *Fidei Donum*. Last year more than 1000 African students here were known to be Catholics, and there were over 1000 other known Catholic students from the West Indies, Asia and elsewhere. These numbers have now increased, the total number of Catholics is probably at least double these figures, and the proportion of students who have passed through Catholic mission schools is even higher. Their pastoral care is the special responsibility of the Catholic Students' International Chaplaincy at 41 Holland Park, where there is an active students' centre with limited accommodation for a few students. Discussions, lectures and Retreats are regularly held there. There are now Catholic representatives on nearly all the local borough committees set up by the British Council, and a Catholic Committee for Overseas Students helps to co-ordinate the work of other Catholic bodies. Visiting is the foundation of much of the work and the Legion of Mary is particularly active in this field; five special Praesidia make several thousand visits yearly to establish personal contacts with the students. The organization for confronting this responsibility is therefore already in existence; the strategy is clear. The main requirement now is to increase interest at the parochial and individual level. One of the most urgent needs, for instance, is for a great interest in the number of Catholic landladies willing to accommodate coloured students; at present only one-tenth of the total number of students in London live in hostels. The others are all in lodgings, and the significance of this for their spiritual lives at a most impressionable moment is immense.

The coloured workers present a more complex problem. For many years there have been coloured people in Britain, but they were in general confined to small areas of some of the major ports. What is new is the movement into the industrial cities. The 50,000 Indians and Pakistanis generally remain as separate, intact enclaves. On the whole they do not seek integration into British life; they are distinguished by different dress and language, and

most of them probably mean to return to their own country. In an attempt to prevent their nationals from becoming a charge on Britain the Governments of India and Pakistan now require a deposit large enough to cover a return air fare, and also insist upon a working knowledge of English and a good possibility of a job. Probably very few of them are Catholics, but their impression of Christianity is doubtless affected by their experiences in this country. The West Indian, however, feels himself to be in many ways British by language, culture and history. Naturally he desires integration and is resentful when this is frustrated either by his social conditions and particular characteristics or by racial prejudice on the part of the whites. The greatest number, 40,000, are in London, closely followed by Birmingham with 30,000. It is estimated that 4000 are in Manchester, and concentrations of about 3000 are found in Nottingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Liverpool and Wolverhampton. The only official body specifically concerned with their particular problems is the British Caribbean Welfare Service. Set up in June 1956 it is staffed and financed by the West Indian Federal Government with aid from the Governments of British Guiana and British Honduras. It aims at aiding assimilation into normal community life and it has established social and welfare contacts for West Indians in thirty-five towns besides London. Its welfare section has assisted more than 3000 West Indians to make use of existing facilities, and other sections deal with the reception of migrants and the problems of employment.

The provision of housing is the first essential if satisfactory relations are to be established. A few voluntary societies are already engaged on this task. Leeds Aggrey Housing Limited, formed in February 1955, now houses a hundred families in Leeds and London, while other societies operate in Birmingham, Bath, Nottingham, Sheffield and London. By purchasing property spread out in a normal residential area they avoid the panic, segregation and tension which occurs elsewhere. Voluntary societies, however, can merely touch the fringe of the problem: local authorities are empowered to give aid and much depends on their response. In the field of employment, also, the Government could perhaps follow American practice and give a lead to integration.

The proportion of Catholics among the West Indians in the United Kingdom is thought to be between 6 and 10 per cent. The primary task of the Church is to integrate these men and women into parish life. There are many difficulties. The act of migration

breaks the old links formed by the individual. In the strange, harsher, unstable environment he will probably find a greater stress on material values. He will also probably be disillusioned with his reception in an England which he may have thought of as Christian. Almost certainly he will become extremely sensitive to what he feels to be coldness and unfriendliness. In these circumstances an instance of discrimination or prejudice particularly on the part of Christians is remembered, while ten acts of kindness are perhaps unnoticed. Thus although West Indians desire integration there is also considerable reticence and reluctance to join in the life of the Church, and this can only be overcome by a special and sustained effort. As a result of Archbishop Heenan's visit to the Caribbean in 1956, the Legion of Mary established a Praesidium in Paddington with the special task of visiting Catholic West Indians and integrating them into parish life. The experiment was successful, two other groups are now working in Islington and Clapham, others are being formed in the East End and Nottingham. The membership includes West Indians, and the visits are now being extended amongst non-Catholics. There is a weekly 'at home' for them and a number are under instruction. In Manchester the Society of African Missions has opened St Gerard's Overseas Centre in the heart of Moss Side, the main district of coloured population. The centre is used as an evening club and also provides premises for special social occasions. Many overseas people spend their first night in the United Kingdom at St Gerard's, and practical help is given in employment and housing problems. The whole aim of the Centre is not to perpetuate the *de facto* segregation but to assist overseas people in the situation in which they find themselves and to try to integrate them into parish life. To this end regular visitation is undertaken by the two priests at the Centre assisted by three Praesidia of the Legion of Mary, in which over fifty regular workers of both British and overseas origin carry out 5000 visits annually to students, workers and their families of all Creeds. Here then there are hopeful beginnings for an approach to the problem. Much can also perhaps be gained by Catholic co-operation with the work done by existing welfare organizations. The British Caribbean Welfare Service would welcome contacts with Catholic groups interested in this field. There is, for instance, no Catholic representative on the Nottingham Consultative Committee for the Welfare of Coloured People.

On a broader field Catholics could play a leading part in educating public opinion. Some Catholic Africans feel that one of the major difficulties in establishing better relations is the ignorance of many Christians of the conditions in their countries. They welcome the emphasis laid by the encyclical *Fidei Donum* on the modern problems of mission territories—the problems of political and economic change and the threat of atheistic materialism—and they hope that the stereotype of primitive paganism will be modified. West Indians have been delighted at the visits of West Indian priests to this country, not least because of the impression made on the white laity. Colour is suddenly seen from a new angle. Other approaches to the problem are being prepared. In March 1958 a conference was held in London to consider means of implementing the encyclical *Fidei Donum*. As a result the Africa Committee of the Sword of the Spirit was entrusted with the task of investigating the possibilities of founding an Africa Centre in London. This would provide a meeting place for people of all races from all parts of Africa, people who already share a deep common interest and the same faith, but who, without the Centre, would probably never meet. By the mutual increase in understanding and a greater appreciation of their common bond such a centre might well exert a considerable influence on race relationships throughout the Continent. It would also provide a documentation and study centre and through its close contact with Catholic missionaries it would open up a fresh and immensely valuable source of information. At the same time it would seek to increase the interest of the Catholic community—the schools, parishes and the Press—in the future of Africa and the possible vocations for the laity in African territories. In June a pilot office for this Africa Centre was opened in Tablet House and it is greatly to be hoped that the search for future funds will be successful.¹

¹ I am grateful to the British Caribbean Welfare Service, the Institute of Race Relations, Monsignor J. L. Coonan and the Very Rev. Fr F. J. Walsh for much assistance; none of whom, of course, are responsible for any opinions expressed in this article. I would also like to acknowledge a considerable debt to Mr James Wickenden's *Colour in Britain*, issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations. *West Indian Immigration*, by G. C. L. Bertram, is published by the Eugenics Society.

CATHOLIC UNDERGRADUATES IN THE UNIVERSITIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES

A Statistical Survey

By AUDREY G. DONNITHORNE

THE purpose of this article is to set out such facts as are known about the proportion which Catholics formed of the undergraduate¹ bodies of universities in England and Wales in the academic year 1953-4 and about the school backgrounds of these undergraduates. An estimate will also be made of future trends in the number of Catholics at the universities. The object served is to help in plans for the pastoral care of Catholic students and to spotlight deficiencies in the Catholic school system, especially in the adequacy in numbers and quality of the schools which prepare, or should prepare, pupils for the universities.

This study is based on information collected by the Newman Demographic Survey.² An attempt was made to obtain information from every university in England and Wales. Unfortunately this information was not available from many of the universities and thus it was impossible to compile national figures for the number of Catholic undergraduates in the year under review. A questionnaire, the text of which is printed at the end of this article, was prepared, and a copy was sent to someone connected with or living near each university in the country. Where possible, knowing how busy university chaplains are, the questionnaire was sent to a Newman Demographic Survey volunteer who could approach the chaplain and undertake a lot of the work concerned;

¹ In this article, 'undergraduate' is taken to mean an internal student reading for a first degree, thus diverging somewhat from the official definition at Oxford and Cambridge.

² The responsibility for this paper rests, however, solely with the author.

in other cases we had to send it direct to the chaplain. Finally, returns of varying degrees of satisfaction were obtained from Oxford and Cambridge, from Exeter, Leicester, Nottingham, Sheffield and a few colleges of London University. Information of a more fragmentary nature was received from Birmingham and Bristol.

First, the proportion which Catholics formed of the total undergraduate body in 1953-4:

At Oxford, where the figures for Catholics are probably fairly complete, the percentage of Catholics (including clergy and religious) was about 7·5 per cent for men and 9 per cent for women.

At Cambridge, for both men and women the proportion was between 5 and 6 per cent.

At Nottingham, all undergraduates on entry fill in a form which includes a question on religion, but it is optional to reply to this question and many do not answer it. Of the undergraduates at Nottingham in 1953-4, some 4½ per cent of the men and 3½ per cent of the women had put themselves down as R.C. Among the declared Catholics, the proportion of those of overseas origin and schooling was slightly higher than in the undergraduate body as a whole and the known Catholic undergraduates schooled in the United Kingdom formed about 4 per cent of the total undergraduates from the United Kingdom at Nottingham.

There were estimated to be twenty Catholic undergraduates at Leicester, about 3 per cent of the 650 undergraduates in 1953-4.

At Exeter the known Catholics were slightly over 5 per cent of the whole undergraduate body, but a very high proportion of the Catholics—some 40 per cent—hailed from overseas. In fact at Exeter the number of known Catholic men from West Africa in 1953-4 was exactly equal to those from Britain—in each case ten.

At Birmingham the Catholics were estimated to be at least 8½ per cent of the total, and at Sheffield between 9 and 9½ per cent. Unfortunately little information is available from the universities of Lancashire and the north-east, but it is to be expected that there the Catholic proportion is considerably higher.

The University of London accounted for 12,700 of the 52,000 full-time students reading for a first degree in the universities of England and Wales in the year under review—that is, for nearly a quarter of the whole.¹ The size and complexity of the University

¹ University Grants Committee: *Returns from Universities and University Colleges, 1953-4*, p. 16.

of London make it peculiarly difficult to estimate the numbers of Catholics, and even rough figures were obtainable from only a few colleges. Known Catholics at the London School of Economics numbered less than 3 per cent of the total, at Queen Elizabeth College about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and at the Architectural Association's School of Architecture, about 5 per cent. However, there may have been a considerable number of Catholics at these institutions who were not known.

For the Universities of Hull and of Manchester, and for the University College of North Staffordshire, we have figures for the number of members of the Catholic societies, but no estimates of the total number of Catholic undergraduates.

At Hull, in 1953-4, the Catholic Society numbered thirty-three out of a total student body of some 800, that is about 4 per cent. Here, as we shall see later, there is strong reason to believe that many Catholic students did not belong to it.

At Manchester, members of the Catholic Society were estimated at 248 for the academic year 1952-3,¹ out of a total of over 3600, or nearly 7 per cent. Since the students of Manchester are scattered, only a small proportion being in university halls of residence, the number of Catholic students may well be considerably greater.

At the University College of North Staffordshire, which is wholly residential, the membership of the Catholic Society there in November 1955 was estimated at thirty-five.² This may well account for almost all the Catholics among the 557 undergraduates in residence at that date, making a Catholic percentage of six.

The Universities of Liverpool and Manchester and King's College, Newcastle, were the only university institutions in England which in 1953-4 drew at least half their students from within a thirty-mile radius of themselves.³ Since all these are situated in towns with a high proportion of Catholics, it is reasonable to suppose that this is reflected in the composition of the student body. Unfortunately no information was received from either Liverpool or Newcastle. Two of the component institutions of the University of Wales, the University Colleges of Cardiff and

¹ See article, 'A Study of Student Societies in the University of Manchester', in *Sociological Review*, December 1956, p. 246.

² A. H. Iliffe: 'Student Societies in the University College of North Staffordshire', in *Sociological Review*, December 1956, p. 263.

³ University Grants Committee: *Returns from Universities and University Colleges 1953-4*, p. 10.

Swansea, also have at least half their students coming from homes within thirty miles.¹

So much for the proportion of Catholics—now about their previous schooling.

Of the 396 male lay Catholic undergraduates at Oxford in the year under review, at least eighty-one were from overseas. Information about schooling is available for 290 male undergraduates whose previous education had been in the United Kingdom. Of these, 200 (69 per cent) had been at Catholic and ninety at non-Catholic schools. Old boys of Ampleforth numbered fifty-four and of Downside twenty-five; these two schools therefore accounted for 40 per cent of the known old boys of United Kingdom Catholic schools studying for a first degree at Oxford in that year.

At Cambridge, of the 308 Catholic men, information is known about the previous education of 218 (in addition to some others from abroad or other universities). Of these, 62 had been at Downside, 37 at Ampleforth and 79 at other Catholic schools in Britain and 40 from non-Catholic schools; here the proportion from Downside and Ampleforth was even greater than at Oxford, amounting to nearly 56 per cent of all the men undergraduates known to have come from Catholic schools in Britain.

Altogether at Oxford and Cambridge, the proportion of Catholic male undergraduates from fee-paying schools would seem to be considerably higher than the proportion among the total men undergraduates at these universities.² This reflects two related facts about the Catholic body in this country. The first is that while Catholics are fairly strong among the professional classes and even stronger among unskilled workers, they still tend to be numerically weak in the intermediate groups. Connected with this is the relative weakness, numerically and otherwise, of Catholic day grammar schools for boys. This is also borne out by the Oxford and Cambridge scholarship results; it is, of course, wrong to take these as the hall-mark of a good school, but they should be among its by-products.

At Oxford, in the year under review, there were 86 Catholic women undergraduates known to be in residence. Of these, 8 had their previous education abroad, for another 8 no information about schools was available. Of the remaining 70 who came from British schools, 46 (66 per cent) were from Catholic and 24 (34

¹ Ibid.

² P.E.P.: *Background of the University Student*, 8 Nov. 1954, p. 272.

per cent) from non-Catholic schools. Roughly two-thirds of the old girls of Catholic schools had come from independent schools, but not more than four from any one school. No records were available of the schooling of Catholic women at Cambridge in 1953-4, but it is believed that about half came from Catholic schools.

At Nottingham, among those previously educated in Britain, less than a third of the known Catholic men undergraduates were from Catholic schools, compared with about two-thirds of the women. At Leicester, nearly half of the known Catholic men from Britain reading for a first degree were from non-Catholic schools, but none of the women. At Exeter, 4 out of 10 of the United Kingdom Catholic male undergraduates had been educated in Catholic schools, and 13 out of 19 women. In these three provincial universities, for which we have records, the proportion of the Catholics, both men and women, coming from independent Catholic schools relative to those from maintained and direct-grant Catholic schools is considerably lower than at Oxford and Cambridge. Also, as has been seen, a far higher proportion of Catholic women have had a Catholic schooling than of Catholic men. Again this underlines the shortage of Catholic day grammar school places for boys.

At Birmingham, thirty-one students attending a meeting of the Catholic Society were asked to give information about their earlier education and nineteen were found to have attended Catholic schools. However, those present at a Catholic Society meeting cannot be considered an unbiased sample of the Catholic students, and it might be thought that the proportion from Catholic schools was lower than indicated by the figures from this one particular group. At Hull, all the members of the Catholic Society, thirty-three altogether (including three Africans), were educated at Catholic schools, which strongly suggests that a very large proportion of the Catholics had not joined the Society.

In 1953-4, of the total native-born population of England and Wales of 'undergraduate age',¹ roughly 10 per cent were estimated to be Catholics.² Without complete returns from all the universities, it is impossible to say what proportion Catholics formed of all undergraduates in that year. In the national universities, Oxford, Cambridge and London, the percentage appears to have

¹ Roughly between eighteen and twenty-three years old.

² Another 2 per cent of this age group were estimated to be Catholics born overseas (estimates made by the Newman Demographic Survey).

been considerably below 10, especially at Cambridge and some London colleges. Very likely this is true in the country as a whole, owing to the high proportion of Catholics in the unskilled occupations whose children are still less likely to go to the university than the children of those from other occupational groups. However, the evidence is that Catholics are less 'socially depressed' now than formerly, and that the tendency to rise is continuing. At the same time, undergraduates are more and more tending to come from all social levels. Therefore, for one reason or another, it is probable that in future the proportion of Catholics among university students will become increasingly similar to that among the whole of the population of the relevant age group.

It is intended to raise the number of university places in Great Britain to 140,000 by 1970. This figure includes the Scottish universities, and post-graduates. If the Scottish universities grow to the same extent as the English and Welsh, they should in 1970 account for some 16,000 students, leaving 124,000 for England and Wales. A study of Catholic infant baptism figures for 1948-52 suggests that in 1970 Catholics should form about 12-13 per cent of the native-born population of undergraduate age, and slightly less of the older age groups from which post-graduates would come. (After 1970 the Catholic proportion in this age group can be expected to rise steeply.) The number and proportion of Catholics among overseas-born students at our universities in 1970 are factors on which it is difficult to speculate. However, it would seem fairly safe to predict that, if total students numbers at the universities of England and Wales reach 124,000 by 1970, the number of Catholics will be something of the order of 15,000.

Three tendencies, already mentioned, are working towards an increase of the number of Catholic students to this figure—the increasing number of university places, the increasing proportion of Catholics in the relevant age group and the lessened importance of social bias both in the Catholic community and in university selection.

This expansion in the number of Catholics at the universities will, of course, make even heavier the burden on the university chaplains. When new chaplaincies are being planned, the increased numbers of future years should be borne in mind, or the buildings may be found hopelessly small before long. The responsibilities of the chaplains are especially great towards those students who have not been at Catholic schools, and their numbers (although

probably not the proportion they form of total Catholic students) will grow rather than diminish. The present Catholic school-building programme is doing no more than keep up with the increase in the Catholic child population, if that. It is doing little to reduce the total of a quarter of a million Catholic children of compulsory school age (and an undetermined number above that age) who attend non-Catholic schools.

In addition, the chaplains' task will be made even more onerous by the fact that more and more university students are likely to be living away from home. This, however, is a development which on broad educational grounds should be encouraged; an undergraduate living at home is apt to have a 'nine-to-five' approach to his university, and to be deprived of that communal life with his fellow-students and the exchange of ideas and the discussions which are the most important part of a university education. This growing tendency for students to go away from home to the university means that all university chaplaincies, including those at the provincial universities, are now of national and not merely diocesan importance; and that at each the majority of students will be from other dioceses—a state of affairs which of course has always been true of Oxford and Cambridge. This raises the question whether all the chaplaincies should not be, financially, a national responsibility, coming directly under the Hierarchy as such, as is the case of the chaplaincies at the ancient universities. Be that as it may, the chaplaincies must be made ready to grapple with a heavily increased burden of work within the coming ten or twelve years.

This is the questionnaire by which the data discussed in this article were collected.

NEWMAN DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Catholic Undergraduates Enquiry

It is hoped to obtain a rough estimate of the number of Catholic undergraduates at the universities of England and Wales during the academic year 1953-4, of the proportion they formed of the total undergraduate population and any information available on their background and types of schools (Catholic or non-Catholic, voluntary aided grammar, direct grant, independent, etc.) they come from.

For this purpose a Catholic is to be defined as anyone who it is thought would describe himself as a Roman Catholic when, for example, entering hospital.

We should therefore be most grateful for the following information for the University of

(1) The number of Catholic undergraduates (full-time) known to be at the University in 1953-4. (Please include priests and religious who were undergraduates.) It would be helpful if separate figures could be given for men and women. Please also give comparable figures for *all* undergraduates in the University in the year 1953-4.

(2) The methods used to compile the above information about Catholic undergraduates; notes on how comprehensive it is considered to be.

(3) Details of the schools attended by Catholic undergraduates (numbers attending each school), details of place of residence (county or country of home address), and any other information about their social or religious background.

(4) Number of past years for which records relating to Catholic undergraduates at the University have been preserved and, in particular, details of any pre-war records still available.

SUNDRY TIMES AND DIVERS MANNERS

Eastern 'Praeparatio Evangelica'

By NORMAN DANIEL

PROFESSOR ZAEHNER'S latest book¹ is a study of the *praeparatio evangelica* in the Hindu Scriptures, in the teachings of Buddhism, in the prophecy of Zoroaster, and, as a special case, in certain verses of the Qur'ān; the subject at his hands receives a characteristically sympathetic treatment. The Qur'ān

¹ *At Sundry Times*, by R. C. Zaehner, Faber and Faber, 21s (London, 1958). For some points, see also the same author's *Mysticism Sacred and Profane* (Oxford, 1957).

is a special case because it is a post-Christian appearance of prophecy. The experience expressed in the Upanishads and the Bhagavad-Gītā, which is not prophetic, is more understandably repeated in that of modern individuals; the author shows that Richard Jefferies, Lord Tennyson (admittedly himself a Christian), Proust and others all witness to an experience, explicable in Jungian terms, which is not dependent on Christian or theist belief, but which tends towards the discovery of God within the soul. Thus it seems to prepare men's minds for the Gospel as much today as in those ages of the ancient world which led up to the Incarnation. The *praeparatio* in the usual sense of the term is for the coming of Christ in Judea; but, in the wider sense of a spiritual coming, it can be said of any time or place. A baptized child may be worse prepared to receive the Gospel, by inadequate Christian mentors, than in our own day and in other ages have been some pagans, some non-Christians of different religions, even, perhaps, some atheists.

Students of this subject will know in advance that Professor Zachner brings to it an academic insight which he combines with a personal sympathy. He distinguishes two alternative modes of *praeparatio*—the 'mystical or inward type' and the public or prophetic. The 'Indian contribution' represents the first of these, the Iranian and Islamic the second. The ancient pagan religions are excluded: 'comparative religion in this country has come to mean very largely the comparative study of primitive religions' and has ignored the great religions of the world. This the present book proposes to rectify by its study of the relation of these great religions to Christianity. Yet no Christian scholar has yet written a detailed study of the *praeparatio evangelica*: the primitive religions, still less, fully and simultaneously, in both primitive and 'great' religions. Dr Micklem ten years ago published a thoughtful little Christian study¹ of the entire field of comparative religion; perhaps we may look forward to a more detailed one by Professor Zachner, whose width of vision fits him—as the same quality fitted Dr Micklem—to undertake this very work.

The author devotes half his book to the detailed examination of the Indian contribution. This is the inward way to the discovery of God's existence—contemplation is not concerned only with

¹ *Religion*, by Nathaniel Micklem, London (Home University Library, 1948). Cf. A. C. Bouquet, *Comparative Religion* (Penguin), which the Catholic reader may find less sympathetic.

union with God; accustomed to theistic presuppositions, Christians do not always realize that the uninstructed soul may first discover another or second self, then perhaps its communion with all creation, before it discovers the Principle by which it subsists. Indian contemplation, passing from atheism through the direct apprehension of God's presence to the knowledge that he is there, reverses the experience of the rationalist West, which insists upon knowing first that there is indeed a God. Where we often argue that the proof of the immortality of the soul derives from the given facts of revelation, the Indian has historically experienced the fact of his own immortality, and sought his revelation of God within. A European whose own belief is no longer orthodox, such as Unamuno, believes that the soul's insistence that it is immortal is in conflict with a rational conviction that it is not.¹ The Indian has not categorized like this, and has given discursive reason no priority over the other faculties. Professor Zaehner is not concerned with the contrast, but he makes it clear that the Indian experience is a self-sufficient experience both of immortality and of God. Secure in the immediate experience of the self, and in some cases of God, the Indians were indifferent to doctrine, and to any orthodoxy in which the objective body of dogma is more important than direct personal knowledge.

'A revelation of the immortality of (man's) soul', revelation through experience, of God discovered within man's 'own eternal being'. All here is empirical. This way to belief does not lead necessarily to a clear doctrine of God; the road from atheism by which the Buddha sought to escape the immortality of the self led to Nirvāna, an apparently still atheist concept. Professor Zaehner points out that the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva who puts off his own Nirvāna till the sufferings of all others be over is an image of Christ: 'I shall release them from all their sufferings (by my own suffering)'; thus here there is Christ, but no God, unless we take the fumbling attempts to define Nirvāna itself to be a confused and wrong-headed apprehension of God, 'unborn, not become, not made, uncompound'. This negation of all things, even of negation, is a kind of godless God, perhaps really a true aspect of God mistaken for an independent entity.²

In contrast to the interior, contemplative *praeparatio* is the pro-

¹ *The Tragic Sense of Life*, by M. de Unamuno (English translation, London, 1931).

² There is a fuller discussion of related problems in Père de Lubac's *Aspects of Buddhism* (English translation, London, 1953).

phetic. Here Professor Zaehner returns¹ to the field he first made his own: the prophecy of Zoroaster, whose revelation anticipates much that Christ was to teach, and who sometimes seems more 'Christian' than the prophets of the Old Testament, who did not preach unmistakably the creed which Christians now believe. The teaching of Christ was indeed so great a surprise to the Jews, when it came to the point, that they could not accept it, and least of all those, like the Pharisees, who were apparently the best 'prepared' for the Gospel. This in the divine economy was reserved for Christ himself; and yet Christians now must realize that it can only have been within the divine economy, too, that some of it had already been taught by a Gentile prophet. The interior Indian discovery of God is easily seen to be possible outside revealed religion; but that public prophecy should teach God truly outside the range of Biblical revelation is harder for some Christians to accept. I propose to consider briefly the rational grounds for the acceptance by Christians of prophecy from outside the Christian Church.

Etymologically, prophets are the *interpreters* of God, as we say, *qui locutus est per prophetas*. St Thomas, impressed by a false etymology, understood the word originally to mean 'one who has sight of far-off things', and he argued that prophecy consisted primarily of an act of knowledge, and secondarily of speech.² In any case, prophets *knew* and *spoke*; spoke, indeed, to the people *in persona Dei*.³ God's spokesman, 'one through whom God speaks', is a definition equally satisfactory to the theologian and the social anthropologist. The acceptance of an external power by which comes utterance is common to all prophecy and applies to true and false. What is peculiar to the Old Testament prophets is that they foretold the coming of Christ, but the genus 'prophet' does not therefore exclude prophets who do not do so. Be it also remembered that if all truth is incarnate in Christ, the prophetic utterance of any truth is in this sense prophetic of Christ.

There is likely to be some truth uttered by every prophet, and a false prophet must be one in whom untruth predominates. In

¹ *The Teachings of the Magi*, by R. C. Zaehner (London, 1956).

² *Summa Theologica*, 2a 2ae, 171, 1. For the etymology, see the note on this passage by P. Synave, O.P., in the *Revue des Jeunes* edition (Paris, 1947).

³ *Ibid.*, 174, 4. For the inspiration of demoniac prophecy, to which I refer below, see *ibid.*, 172, 6 (prophetæ daemonum . . . loquuntur . . . interdum ex inspiratione divina . . . Illud verum quod daemones enuntiant, a Spiritu Sancto est). Cf. also 172, 5.

determining this, something must also depend on what preknowledge of truth those to whom he prophesies possess—if he increases their hold on truth a classification as false becomes less certain. We know of false prophets of Baal; yet the worship of baalim, wholly evil within Israel, where it competed with that of the Lord, was less so outside, where, until there was something better available, it will have helped in its small measure to prepare Gentiles for the Coming. The traditional explanation of a false prophet was either that he was a simple fake (that is, no prophet at all), or, where he revealed a more than human knowledge, that an evil spirit spoke through him. When it was objected that he said some true things, this was explained as a trick to get the lies believed. St Thomas, indeed, maintained that God was the author of all true prophecy, which, in the case of a false prophet, was manipulated by a devil. This diabolical explanation is less useful than it once seemed. The Gospel instructs us to recognize false prophets by their fruits, that is, surely, by the truth or otherwise of their prophecies. Before the Gospel was preached, some of its content was taught by Zoroaster, and in particular that hardest and most important truth, the resurrection of the body; the same doctrine was more obscurely adumbrated in primitive religion. This is the fact, whether we like it or not, and there is absolutely no reason why we should not like it; the days are long past when we thought similarities to Christian faith outside that faith an argument against its truth. Nor does anyone really believe that so much truth was taught by devils, in order that the hearts of later generations should be hardened against the final and total truth. If that were the purpose, surely the time and place would have been better chosen to achieve it; or can we suppose devils hopelessly incompetent? Be that as it may, Zoroaster, by the Gospel test, cannot be dismissed as a false prophet.

Truths may be known by natural reason or by revelation. In the latter case, when they are proclaimed by a non-Christian prophet, they must still have been put in his mind by God, unless, having discarded devils as an explanation, we are going to prefer a theory of chance, a chance surely little more probable than that by which the typist ape writes Shakespeare. In the former case we still have the problem of how truth and error have been mixed in proportions which abnormally reduce the error. Even of those things which may be seen by the light of unaided reason, none may be seen clearly in practice, even the existence of God, by a

reasoning faculty that the Fall has impaired. What makes the Gentile prophet prefer the abnormal proportion of truth? His purity of heart? That would also be a special grace. The mode of divine action upon him may be for specialists to determine; the fact can only be that it is there. When truths can hardly be the work of reason, they must be assumed to have been imparted specially by God. This is the crux of the argument.

We may equally well wonder, on the other hand, why this sort of prophet should be only imperfectly inspired; but this is to wonder why one people should be chosen, first a nation and then a church, and infallibility, but not truth, reserved within the limits of that people. It will always be true that beyond the Bible and the Church no prophet will be authoritative. He will never be free from error, completely reliable. The faithful will be under no obligation to him, except what charity and humility impose. Yet every true thing that he teaches will be a preparation for the total truth in the Gospel; and in as much as each teacher is different, whether Christian or non-Christian, he is likely to illuminate an aspect of Christ in a special way. Incontestibly, the Christian Church, which is the guardian of the whole truth, has not been able to convey it to all men in all aspects. What is guaranteed is the minimum essential to salvation—not necessarily the power to persuade. The mark of orthodoxy is too often to hold the truth, and so to preach it that it convinces no one.

This argument seems to cover the case of Zoroaster, but some think there is greater difficulty in accepting Muhammad as a true Gentile prophet. If we accept Zoroaster, the objection to Muhammad will lie primarily in his coming after the time of Christ, and coming outside the Church; if *extra ecclesia nulla salus*, must we also say, *nulla prophetia*? But if we can grant, as well as the possibility of Gentile prophecy at all, both salvation outside the (apparent) Church and the continuation of prophecy within the Church after the time of Christ, the preliminary difficulties will be cleared away. As far as salvation outside the Church is concerned I need only say here that no theological objection has been sustained to the thesis that whereas all salvation is through Christ, and therefore through His Church, yet the Church's salvation may save men of good will outside the apparent Church. As far as the continuation of prophecy is concerned, there can be no argument about the fact. Prophecy is a gift of which Acts and Epistles speak. One of the less unreasonable mediaeval arguments against

Islam was that God does not so restrict His mercy as to bring the stream of prophecy to an end, as Muslims believe it ended in Muhammad. St Thomas tells us that modern prophets are sent *ad humanorum actuum directionem*.¹

The ideas of sanctity and prophethood are quite distinct; how far moral rectitude is essential in a prophet I discuss below. Prophecy is similarly distinct from philosophical or theological doctrine of a discursive character. A prophet transmits a message direct from God into the hearts of men; he confronts them with God's Word, and compels them, as no other teacher can, either to accept or reject that Word. Not only visionaries, but men with a gift of restating truth so as to convince, of speaking in a way which brings the Gospel newly into men's hearts, are surely prophets. Is the power to convert not the grace of prophecy? When we see truth brought into men's hearts, so as to give direction to their lives, by one who speaks in God's name, it is hard not to accept him as a true prophet (carefully defined), even if he is not within the visible Church.

Thus there seems no reason not to accept Muhammad as a Gentile prophet, since there were such before Christ, there can be prophecy after Christ, and there can be salvation outside the apparent Church. Yet can we say 'true prophet' of Muhammad or any other, if what he says is true but what he does is bad? Some, with Professor Zaehner, may incline to recognize in the Qur'ān 'the authentic voice of prophecy', and yet, under the influence of traditional attitudes, have reservations about the Prophet himself. The logical possibility that the prophecy, but not the prophet, is authentic, is one we need investigate only if we are sure that the prophet falls short. We have seen that 'prophet' and 'saint' are different categories, and outside Christendom 'saint' in any case tends just to mean 'one touched by the power of God', which may happen in several ways that do not include heroic virtue. Yet nowhere is it credible that God should expect men to listen to teachers whose moral behaviour does not command their respect. The question is, therefore, not whether Muhammad was a saint, but whether there was anything in his behaviour actively to disqualify him for the office of prophet.

In 1958 it ought not to be necessary to assert the sincerity of Muhammad; as Zaehner says, the contrary view has 'now been

¹ Ibid., 174, 6 (sol. 3). For the stream of prophecy, see Ricoldo da Montecroce, *Disputatio (or Refutatio) VIII*.

abandoned by all Christian scholars of repute', but he modifies his own conviction of Muhammad's sincerity by the phrase, 'at least during the period in which he was persecuted in Mecca'; this, no doubt, is put deliberately conservatively, but surely we may safely go further? Medinatism, the view that Muhammad's character 'deteriorated' with his success in Medina, has had its eminent defenders. It really means that less attractive aspects of his character appeared, rather than that that character changed. We cannot speak of deterioration, when the circumstances to which he was reacting were so different as to offer no point of common comparison. The traditional gravamen of the charge is concisely put by Zaehner as the use of 'force and fraud'. Yet here we must be careful. Can we object to the use of force as such? We applaud Crusade; we applaud war in any just cause. Muhammad's use of force was exactly a Crusade. Need we be surprised that in this most difficult question he saw no more clearly than men generally saw, or still see? Indeed, we who anticipate the use of nuclear warfare (whether justifiably or not I do not want to argue here) can hardly condemn a religious leader whose warfare spared the lives of non-combatants. As to *fraud*, that is a hard accusation, because the facts are difficult to interpret, and we certainly cannot act as if they were proved. For a fuller discussion, the reader is referred to Dr Montgomery Watt's *Muhammad at Medina*.¹

It is still argued that Muhammad was not good because he either permitted or encouraged (which, is still in dispute) polygamy, and himself practised it. Yet there is not the slightest evidence that Muhammad could have been expected to realize that this was wrong. On the contrary, it seems clear that what he established was nearer to the natural law than what he destroyed. On the negative side, the crucial question is, granted the circumstances of his upbringing, which necessarily condition the 'invincible ignorance' of any man, did he act against any law he could have known? On the positive side, there is much evidence that everything he did, he did for religion's sake and as an act of religion. Indeed, it seems certain that we should have been impressed by the goodness of his personality, had we met him. He claimed to be 'no more than an apostle' (in the words of the Qur'ān), but we cannot read the traditions or the early lives of

¹ Oxford, 1956. For early accounts of how revelations came to Muhammad, see the same author's *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953), from which Zaehner quotes.

the Prophet without realizing that his companions were always aware in his presence of the touch of the numinous. There seems no reason to deny that Muhammad was a true prophet in the same sense as Zoroaster (whose own claim is recognized by Islam in practice, though not by the Qur'ân); he was what we must call a Gentile prophet—a true prophet and truly a prophet, but having no authority beyond the authenticity of his prophecy. What he actually says has over us a claim which ceases where it ceases to convince.

Professor Zaehner's concern, in much of his treatment of this subject, however, is explicitly not with Islam as a whole, but with the Qur'ân as an isolated and unglossed text. He argues that Islam has in fact adopted an incorrect interpretation of the Qur'ân in the revelations relating to the status of Christ, that it was carried away by the force of its own anti-Christian polemic. The appendix on 'The Qur'ân and Christ' concentrates the author's approach to Islam, and it will not be unfamiliar to readers of this periodical, since the author discussed this material in an article in a previous issue. He argues with subtlety that the sense of the Christological passages of the Qur'ân 'does not deny any specific Christian doctrine except that Christ is the *son of God*', and that, only in an anthropomorphic sense with which Christians necessarily agree. The way we understand the Quranic language has emphasized the Christological differences between the two religions much more than they need have been, had both sides wanted to respect each other.

For modern Christian scholars there are many possible approaches to Islam. That made through the philosophers and mystics has had much success, although it is more grateful to Christians than to Muslims; that made through more typical aspects of Islam is more useful, and that made through the Qur'ân most useful of all. It is long since Christians felt obliged to make their approach in a spirit of disrespect, and we now have excellent examples of how a Christian may properly approach the Qur'ân as a religious book.¹ I should question Professor Zaehner on one general point: is the Qur'ân really more vulnerable to the 'higher criticism' than the Bible? The circumstances of its composition are so much better documented to start with; moreover,

¹ I should like to draw attention especially to *Abraham dans le Coran*, by Y. Moubarac (librairie philosophique J. Vrin, *series études musulmanes*, Paris, 1958), where Christianity and Islam are shown to meet in the faith of Abraham.

the damage done by the modernist attack on the Bible was in making it seem the product, not of divine, but natural, impulses; yet in the case of the Qur'ān 'God is in a hurry to satisfy your desires' was said by 'Ā'ishah herself;¹ and Islam has been quite untouched by centuries of Christian criticism based upon the 'scandal' of revelations sent down *ad hoc* to answer questions and problems of the moment. Predestination reconciles this with the Islamic doctrine that the Qur'ān is uncreated, which last Professor Zachner sees as a desertion of the basic Islamic principle, abhorrence of *shirk*, the association of other things with God. Yet instead of saying, 'you are here guilty of the very *shirk* of which you accuse Christians', should we not use just this to try to show Muslims that we are *not* guilty of *shirk*, when we say that the Word is the Son of God? The similarity serves a more useful end for each side, if it illuminates the other's belief, than if it attacks it.

I do not think that it is quite fair to say simply that Islam 'spread by force'; it undoubtedly spread also by persuasion, as it still does, particularly in Africa. In so far as it did not spread by persuasion, surely it was by worldliness rather than by force? The conquered *dhimmīs* were not forced to accept Islam, but they did often accept it in order to obtain worldly advancement. The point seems to be that religion of the prophetic type tends naturally to call forth a response of conformity from an entire people.

Are there other categories—if, for example, we introduce primitive religion into the total picture—than the interior and the prophetic *praeparationes*? I think not. One of Professor Zachner's earliest and most distinguished predecessors among Oxford students of comparative religion, Roger Bacon, said very sensibly that all religions (that is, all known to him; Hindu and Buddhist mysticism were not among these) base their belief upon a claimed revelation; not only Christians, Jews and Muslims, but the henotheistic Tatars, and even fetishists and animists, all believe 'that (the) God revealed those things that belong to these sorts of religion'.² He assigns a reason which clarifies this incidentally: 'for everyone who founds a religion ascribes its authority to God, so that it may be better believed'. He is doubtless wrong in supposing that primitive religions were deliberately contrived as frauds, but right in seeing them all as claiming to be divine revelations made

¹ Often cited by Christian writers of many different periods. For reference to sources, see Watt, *Medina*, p. 325.

² *Opus major*, 7a; edition F. Delorme and E. Massa (Zurich, 1953), p. 211 (24-5).

through spokesmen, that is, as prophetic religions. This applies whether there are actual prophets or not; some primitive religions have an actual order of prophets.¹ All such prophetic, revealed religions presuppose a communal worship; in Bacon's view, the more nearly true the revelation, the higher would be its degree of priestly organization for communal worship, and of popular response.² A prophetic religion is for everybody. It is obvious that this is not the case with a contemplative, interior kind of religion, indifferent to dogma, as in India, where the Scriptures mark the best practice of a few, while the majority practise a religion at once primitive and 'prophetic' in character, and containing, it must be said, from a Christian point of view a minimum of truth in some of its aspects.

If Hinduism has started from atheism and reached theism—though it is not altogether clear that there is a progress, and Indians today will sometimes point out that Hinduism still contains within itself all degrees of belief and disbelief—may we hope that there will be a similar process in the development of Communism? There the 'prophetic', that is, the declared, dogmatic and communal aspects, contribute the atheistic element; it is not as in India, where atheism was as esoteric as monotheism. Marxists may discover God by interior contemplation of a doctrine which is essentially exterior, but it does not seem very likely. If the doctrine can be thought to imply any kind of God (under any name), that God is immanent in the historical processes of dialectical materialism.³ Might this develop into a theistic belief? If so, it would be the objective and 'bourgeois' development of an exterior dogma, and not the interior discovery that occurred among the Indians. Yet, if the Bodhisattva implies the sacrifice of the Crucified, perhaps dialectical materialism implies Providence as nearly.

Communism is not the only example of secularized prophecy in the modern world; another is nationalism, innocent and crude among the Arabs, self-induced and assertive among the Americans, weary and persistent in Europe, intolerant everywhere. It is not, of course, atheist; most of its believers are believers also in one of the ancient religions, but the latter belief is distinct and does not belong to the essence of their secular piety. The old

¹ Cf. *The Nuer*, by E. Evans-Pritchard (Oxford, 1956).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 192 (1) ff., p. 212 (1) ff.

³ Cf. Mickletham, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6.

prophetic religions are being pushed into our private lives by the process of secularization, in the West as in the Communist countries, so that the observance of these religions, even liturgically, becomes less 'prophetic', because it is not shared by the whole community. In this sense there seems likely to be an increasing 'Indianization' of all religion in the secular state. The dominant doctrines of the world today offer no obvious *praeeparatio*; if it does exist, it is hard to recognize; the world's preoccupation is both secular and hostile.

At the same time, the absence of what might naturally lead to the belief in God is no measure of the possibility of the world's future conversion. Conversion does not follow rules, and we cannot calculate it. The *praeeparatio evangelica* is a preparation only in the sense that it is an *approximatio* which familiarizes the world with true ideas. There is no evidence that *praeeparatio* has disposed people in actual fact to conversion. The contrary may even be true—men who hold a large share of truth are disposed to be satisfied with it; those who hold little are ready for a change. Men remote from Christianity are most liable to turn suddenly to the Gospel. It was not men of religion, but sinners, who most often recognized the Messiah; similarly, in the Gentile world some apprehension of God seems to inhibit a fuller recognition of his presence. Yet are we to say that it is better to remain further from God than to approximate to truth? I at least am not prepared to prefer that a man should be a cannibal if he cannot be a Christian. It is better to be wholly in error, and then converted, no doubt, than only partly in error, unconverted; but better to be partly than wholly in error; just as, although it is better to be very sinful and converted than a little sinful and not converted, it remains true that it is better to be a little sinful than very. So some religions offer least truth, as idolatry; some most, as Islam; some offer a wide range of truth and untruth, as Hinduism. Every part of truth that men will accept is an advance over none, and must be a subject for Christian rejoicing. The question of conversion must be left to the only master of men's hearts. Christians find it hard to trust in Providence, yet can never penetrate the central mystery of election.

Professor Zaehner has delineated with delicacy the approach to truth in the interior religions of India and the prophetic religions of the Middle East. The study of these and of all religions illuminates the truths of orthodoxy; it helps, for example, to

correct that fault often criticized, that Catholicism is expressed in Latin terms unacceptable to Nordics, or Christianity in European terms unacceptable to Afro-Asians. This applies equally in reverse. Professor Zaehner's point of departure is the advantage that the Christian scholar has over the agnostic in this field of study—a claim which is realized in his own sympathy for his subject. He begins with the failure to find anything inherent common to all religions, and concludes that there is indeed nothing, except that each in its own way approaches Christianity. There is both obverse and reverse to the *praeformatio evangelica*. The faith of the Gospel is, or ought to be, the best preparation for understanding all religions. In practice this is not so, the fault is a serious one, and it is ours.

CHALLONER IN LONDON

A Bicentenary

By E. E. REYNOLDS

WHEN Bishop Benjamin Petre, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, died on 22 December 1758, he was succeeded by his co-adjutor, Bishop Richard Challoner. The most determined action of Bishop Petre during his quiet life was his insistence in 1741 on having Dr Richard Challoner as his co-adjutor. The Vicar-Apostolic was then in his sixty-eighth year; his health was causing him anxiety and he felt no longer equal to the strain of the administration of a District that covered ten counties.

It so happened that at the same time a successor was needed to Dr Witham, the President of Douay. Dr Challoner's name was at once put forward; he was an obvious choice; he had spent a quarter of a century at the College where his brilliant career as a student had been followed by notable work as professor and Vice-President. These were strong arguments in his favour, so strong indeed that he was actually named for the position. It was then that Bishop Petre began his tussle with Rome for the services of

Dr Challoner. The bishop's tribute not only sums up the value of Challoner's work in London during the previous ten years, but could equally serve as an estimate of his life's work.

He has scarcely reached his forty-ninth year, but by his many remarkable gifts of mind, his great humility and gentleness, by his assiduous fidelity in reclaiming sinners to the way of life taught by the Gospel and to the truths of our religion, by his marvellous power in preaching, in instructing the ignorant and in writing books both spiritual and controversial, he has won not only the esteem but the veneration of all who have either heard him preach or who have read his books.

Bishop Petre's plea was successful and Dr Challoner returned to London. Douay lost a President who would have brought distinction to the College, but England gained the bishop who has been rightly called 'the greatest of the Vicars-Apostolic'.

Catholicism was at its lowest ebb when Challoner first came to London in 1730. For half a century he laboured in obscurity, yet, by the time of his death in 1781, he had so deeply influenced and strengthened his people in their spiritual lives that his name and the title of one of his books, *The Garden of the Soul*, could be appropriately used to distinguish a type of Catholicism that was based on sound instruction and quiet devotion. It was not demonstrative or adventurous for the times would not permit that, but it laid a firm foundation on which the liberated Church could be built up during the nineteenth century. His influence extended far beyond the London District; those who could not be at Mass when he celebrated, or listen to his instruction, or seek his advice in his own lodging, bought his books and so learned to share his spirit. For more than a century after his death *The Garden of the Soul* and his *Meditations* continued to give help and guidance to Catholics, and, indeed, to others.

An unlooked-for example of this wider influence came to my notice a few years ago when we were seeking to place a commemorative tablet on the house in Old Gloucester Street in which Bishop Challoner died. The owner of the house was an old lady living in the north of England. She was deeply interested to learn of the association of the bishop with her house. 'Though I am a member of the Church of England,' she wrote, 'I have long used his *Meditations*.' So, a hundred and fifty years after his death, his influence could still reach beyond his own community.

It is commonplace to note the quantity of Challoner's publications; they begin with *Think Well On't*, a book of daily meditations for a month published in 1728 and still in print in 1845, and end with an address printed in Laity's Directory in 1780. It is less usual to commend the literary quality of his work; indeed, some have been almost apologetic for his style. It is difficult to believe that his books could have had such enduring influence without an effective and distinctive manner of writing. While it is true to say that Challoner rarely appeals to the imagination or captures attention by deliberate rhetoric, it is also right to claim for him a clarity of expression that was far more to his purpose than a highly worked prose. Both in his avoidance of 'enthusiasm', and in his use of plain English, Challoner was a child of the eighteenth century.

His translations, adaptations and compilations do not show his powers as a writer of English. When, for instance, he produced in 1762 an edition of St Francis de Sales' *Introduction to the Devout Life* he made use of an anonymous translation of 1675. He was content to re-word the older work in the idiom of his own day, but there is a stiffness of expression that fails to cover up the hand of the construer.

To appreciate Challoner's own style we must turn to such books as *The Catholick Christian Instructed* (1737) and the *Meditations for Every Day of the Year* (1754). The first of these has a preface attacking Conyer Middleton's popular *Letter from Rome showing an exact Conformity between Papacy and Paganism*, in which the author set out to show that many of the practices of the Catholic Church had been taken over from 'their heathen Ancestors'. There was nothing new in the argument, and it is still put forward by some opponents of Christianity. Challoner's reply was only twenty-four pages long, but he effectively exposed Middleton's specious theories. An extract will serve as a specimen of Challoner's controversial style.

But, to make clear this Charge of Idolatry against us, the Doctor has made an important Discovery, which he fathers upon St *Jerome*, tho' indeed it is a Brat of his own; which is, that all Images of the Dead are Idols, and consequently are liable to all those Censures which, in the Scripture, in the Fathers, and in the Laws of Christian Emperors, are pronounced against *Idols*. An important Discovery indeed! by which it appears, that, after all the Pretensions of his own Church to a thorough Reformation, she has not yet got rid of

Idols, but has them everywhere standing, and new ones daily erected, in spite of the Law of God; and that not only in every private House, inhabited by her Children (scarce one of which is found without some Image or Picture of the Dead) but also in her publick Places, and in her very Churches, out of which, tho' she has generally removed the Images of *Christ* (which 'tis hoped the Doctor will not look upon as *Idols*, if he believes the Resurrection of his Redeemer) yet she has brought in, in their stead, the Images of *Moses* and *Aaron*, who are certainly dead; and, what is worse still, has introduced dead Lions and Unicorns into the Sanctuary, in Place of the Cross of *Christ*; tho' this also of late has been erected upon the Top of the chief Church of the Kingdom [St Paul's], surrounded with many other of the Doctor's *Idols*, to the great Offence of the *Puritans*, who are the only People that will thank the Doctor for the Pains he has been at to furnish them with Arms against the established Church.

If we are tempted to think of Challoner solely as the quiet, self-effacing priest, it is well to recall that he could speak out when the Church was traduced.

James Barnard in his life of the bishop said that this reference to 'Lions and Unicorns' gave Challoner's opponents an excuse to attack him for disrespect to the monarchy. Middleton's reply drew attention to 'R . . . C . . .' (to copy the title page of *The Catholick Christian*) and Challoner's friends persuaded him to withdraw to Douay until the storm had passed.

His stay at his old College gave him the opportunity to plan *The Garden of the Soul*, one of the formative books of Catholic devotion. It was much more than a prayer book; it gave, for instance, instruction on doctrine, on the Mass, and confession and communion. In times when many Catholics were isolated and could not hear Mass regularly and rarely met a priest, such a book proved a blessing. It is not surprising that ten editions were issued during Challoner's lifetime; the book, with additions due to later needs, remains in print. The same instructional material continues to appear in numerous varied forms, but it is doubtful if there has been any advance on Challoner's clearly written explanations and advice. In *The Garden of the Soul* the instructions had to be brief, and it is here that the author showed his skill in expressing great truths in language within the understanding of ordinary folk.

In *The Catholick Christian* he had been able to be more expansive, but the same quality of clarity is shown. The book is in the form of a catechism. We are reminded from time to time of the conditions for which he was writing. Thus the questioner asks if,

when it is impossible to hear Mass, it is permissible to 'join in Prayer with those of another Communion'? The answer is an emphatic 'No', followed by this advice:

In such a Case therefore a Christian must serve his God alone to the best of his Power, by offering to him the Homage of *Prayer, Adoration, Contrition, &c.* and must frequently hear Mass in Spirit, by joining himself with all the Faithful throughout the Earth, where-ever they are offering to God that divine Sacrifice; ever sighing after these heavenly Mysteries, and praying for his Deliverance from that *Babylon*, which keeps him at a Distance from the Temple of God.

Another question and answer on a topical subject may be given as an example of the author's style.

Q. But why does the Church celebrate the Mass in *Latin*, rather than in the vulgar Language?

A. *1st.* Because it is her ancient Language, used in all her sacred Offices, even from the Apostles Days, throughout all the *Western* Parts of the World; and therefore the Church, which hates *Novelty*, desires to celebrate her Liturgy in the same Language as the Saints have done for so many Ages. *2dly.* For a greater *Uniformity* in the Publick Worship; that so a Christian, in whatsoever country he chances to be, may still find the Liturgy perform'd in the same Manner, and in the same Language to which he is accustomed at Home: And the *Latin* is certainly of all Languages the most proper for this, as being the most universally studied and known. *3dly.* To avoid the Changes to which all vulgar Languages, as we find from Experience, are daily exposed: For the Church is unwilling to be chopping and changing her Liturgy at every Turn of Language.

It may have been during his withdrawal to Douay that Challoner conceived the idea of one of his best known works, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*. He was already acquainted with the documents at Douay, and he would be able during his stay to discuss his plan with Alban Butler, then a professor at the College. Challoner was scrupulous in his use of documents; in spite of the more abundant resources which have since become available, few serious errors have been discovered in his straightforward accounts.

An interesting comparison can be made between the style of Challoner's *Memoirs*, and that of Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. The most recent editor has described Butler's style as 'almost

intolerably verbose', and, 'slipshod in construction', terms that certainly cannot be applied to Challoner's writing. A short extract from his account of the Franciscan, Henry Heath (Tyburn, 17 April 1642), shows his command of narrative.

At *London* he arrives wearied, as well he might, having travelled barefoot forty miles that day [from Dover], and it being the winter season. It is now time to take up his quarters and give some little rest and refreshment to the body. But how shall this be done, for money he has none, nor acquaintance? However, he ventures to call at the Star Inn near *London Bridge*, but the people of the house finding he had no money turned him out of doors at eight o'clock in a cold winter night, and where now to put his head, and what course to take till morning he knew not. At length, wearied with standing in the streets, he resolved to lie down at some citizen's door, where he might meet with some little shelter from the cold air, and accordingly he laid himself down and composed himself to rest, designing in the morning to call upon Father *Colman* in *Newgate*.

After some time the master of the house coming home stumbles upon him, and taking him for a shoplifter calls the watch, sends for a constable, and upon a strict search, discovers the writings that were concealed in his cap. Upon this he is committed to the *Compter*, and the next day is carried before my Lord Mayor, where his writings and himself being examined, he owned himself to be a priest, and so was sent to *Newgate*.

It was at times said that priests from Douay had lost command of their native language during their years of absence from England. Alban Butler shows traces of the influence of French in his style; there is no sign of this in Challoner's writings. Did he deliberately set himself to cultivate a knowledge of the use of English? In his later years he wrote of Douay, 'I could wish that English were more taken notice of, both to read it and write it well.'

His last major original work was his *Considerations upon Christian Truths and Christian Duties, Digested into Meditations for every day of the Year*—to give this favourite series of Meditations its full title. This was published in 1754. Here, as in all his writings, he was thinking of the needs of the ordinary man or woman. He did not claim originality for his thoughts, these being 'collected from the word of God, and the writings of the Saints, and servants of God'. He did not, unlike some authors, scare the reader by an elaborate explanation, with categories and sub-divisions, of what is meant by meditation. Here is what he wrote:

Mental prayer, by way of meditation, is very easy, even to the meanest capacities; it requires nothing but a good will, and a sincere desire, of conversing with God, by thinking of him, and loving him. In effect the great business of mental prayer is *thinking and loving*: and who is there that can even live without *thinking and loving*? But then in mental prayer, the *thinking and loving* is not confined to such narrow limits, or mean objects, as the thoughts and affections of worldlings are, which lie always groveling upon the earth: but it has an immense field, opened for it's entertainment, of great and everlasting truths, and such as are both highly moving, and of infinite importance to us all; and of great and eternal goods, together with the way to make them our own.

Could anything be simpler or more persuasive?

One curious result of the great popularity of Challoner's books is the difficulty of finding copies of early editions. Anyone like myself who has tried to make such a collection has experienced this scarcity. The explanation is that his books were used and used; they were not put on shelves and left to gather dust. Only one complete copy of the first edition of *The Garden of the Soul* has been traced.

The fact that his books retained their value for more than a century after his death is evidence of his effective use of his native language; even today his English is not noticeably dated; Catholics of the nineteenth century found strength in his writings just as their forebears had done in the previous century. The directness of his approach, his skill in organizing his material and his preference for simple expression are characteristics which writers of devotional manuals might profitably study.

It did not occur to him that he was appraising his own work when he wrote, 'The great truths of the Christian religion are here briefly proposed, in their plain native colours,' but that was what he accomplished to the lasting benefit of the Catholic Church in England.

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

WHEN it was suggested that I contribute a letter to the winter number the editor stated that he had in mind 'to make it a leading purpose of *THE DUBLIN REVIEW* to give some fuller sense of contact and relationship between Catholics in this country and in the United States and in Ireland as well'. I confess that for some years this idea has had a strong attraction for me. In fact, it was my conviction of the need for closer contacts between the Catholics of Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States that prompted me during a visit to England and Ireland in the summer of 1956 to investigate the possibilities of historical research along these lines in some of the ecclesiastical archives of the two countries. The results were in no way startling either by way of the amount or the nature of the evidence uncovered. But enough was found in the depositories at Westminster, Ushaw, and in Dublin to warrant the belief that historians of the Church in all three countries might find it worth their while to pursue the subject more at length. With the same end in view I suggested to one of my students the topic of Anglo-American Catholic relations of the early nineteenth century as the subject for her doctoral dissertation. This book will appear during 1959 and will contain such interesting information as, for example, the suggestion of an American foundation by the English Benedictines as early as 1794. Having recently been expelled from their continental houses by the French Revolution, and as yet not permanently settled either at Downside or Ampleforth, they would seem to have been entertaining the notion of sending out monks to the United States. In any case, on 19 September 1794, Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore told Fr Michael Pembridge, O.S.B., in a letter of that date:

I said that your letter was a precious favour, because nothing can be more pleasing to me than the prospect of having in my diocese a settlement of English Benedictines. . . . I trust in God that they will honour and extend religion, and . . . I never can forget that they were the apostles of England, Germany and many other countries . . . I am decidedly of the opinion that the neighbourhood of the town called Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania, about 300 miles

from this, would be the properest [*sic*] place for a settlement and school.¹

Nothing came of the matter, however, and it was not until 1846 that the American Church got its first Benedictine house when a group of monks from Bavaria settled—curiously enough—a few miles from Pittsburgh to begin what is today St Vincent Archabbey. Not until 1955 did the United States have its first house of English Benedictines when Fr Columba Cary-Elwes came with his confrères from Ampleforth to establish their priory near St Louis where they now have a flourishing school for boys as well as one American subject in simple vows and two postulants.

Let me cite one more example of the kind of thing that lies hidden away in the archives, and with that I shall have done with the past and return to the present. Last September while in the Pacific North-west I took occasion to visit the archives of the Archdiocese of Seattle where I found a letter of 12 May 1858, from Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore to Francis Norbert Blanchet, Archbishop of Oregon City. Kenrick informed his friend that Baltimore's ninth provincial council had closed on the previous Sunday, and he then remarked:

In my absence the fathers of the council adopted measures to procure a combined effort on the part of Doctor Newman and myself to produce a revision of the text [of the Scriptures], for common use in America and England. He had previously, through Dr. Forbes asked my consent to use my version as a basis. A committee of bishops is appointed to correspond with the bishops of England, as well as of the U. Sts. on this matter.²

Once again the projected work failed to materialize, but Kenrick's letter is suggestive of the kind of material that awaits an historian who is interested in exploring the background of Anglo-American Catholic relations.

But THE DUBLIN REVIEW's readers are doubtless less interested in matters relating to historical research than they are in some of the contemporary concerns of the American Catholics. One of the principal problems facing the Church in this country at the present time—

¹ An effort to locate Pembridge's letter to Carroll among the latter's papers was unsuccessful. The original Carroll letter was presented by Abbot Aidan Gasquet to the University of Notre Dame.

² In this connexion Newman's biographer, Wilfrid Ward, wrote: 'Naturally enough, with his fastidious taste in English style, co-operation with American writers, however able, would be difficult.' (!) *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (London, 1912), I, 426. The intermediary was in all likelihood John Murray Forbes (1807-1885), a Protestant Episcopal minister, who had become a Catholic in 1849, was ordained a priest, and who left the Church in 1859 to return to his original communion.

highly urbanized as it is—is that of keeping pace with the tremendous growth of population in these urban areas. Early last autumn the editors of *Fortune* published a volume called *The Exploding Metropolis*. The reviewer of the book in the *New York Times* (5 October) stated that it could be argued that 'the greatest revolution in progress today is not in Soviet Russia, Red China or the emerging national states of Asia and Africa but right here at home in your city and mine, in your suburb and the one next door'. In truth the transformation that is taking place in the complexus of the American urban community is almost frightening in the way it is breaking down the familiar lines by which we have been accustomed to recognize a city's character and limits. It has even been suggested of late that by 1970 the suburbs of Washington and Baltimore—forty miles apart—will meet!

In all this, of course, the Church is deeply involved and vitally concerned. The situation can be illustrated, perhaps, by certain facts pertaining to the Archdiocese of Washington. It is only eleven years ago (21 January 1948) that the national capital got its first resident archbishop and was thus effectively separated from Baltimore to which it had been attached under a single ordinary since 1939. The geographical area is relatively small for ecclesiastical jurisdictions in this country (2104 square miles), embracing as it does the ten square miles of the federal district and five counties of the State of Maryland. And in those Maryland counties, incidentally, are some of the oldest parishes of the American Church, nine of them dating before the dawn of American independence and one—St Francis Xavier at Newtown—going back to 1650, only sixteen years after the arrival of the first of Baron Baltimore's English colonists. Thus the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in which we live here is made up of the very old, as reckoned by American standards, and the very new. I say the 'very new' because in the eleven years since the advent of a resident archbishop there have been twenty-four new parishes established, and of these fifteen are located in the suburban districts surrounding Washington on its Maryland boundaries—it is bounded on the south across the Potomac River by the Diocese of Richmond. In most of these new parishes large parochial schools were built almost at once in an effort to accommodate the Catholic children of the respective neighbourhoods. In fact, since 1948 there have been forty-one new schools built in the archdiocese, that is, both elementary and high schools. In a number of these elementary schools the growth has been so rapid that substantial additions to the school buildings have had to be constructed within two or three years of their presumed completion. Eight of these schools in suburban parishes have now 1000 or more children each enrolled in merely the elementary grades (ages six to fourteen), and one school—begun in 1951—had over 1600 children last year.

This startling population rise in and around Washington—and it can be matched by that of almost every large city in the land—has served to focus the attention of ecclesiastical administrators more and more upon the true number of the faithful in order that they may, with some degree of exactness, plan for future development. American religious statistics on all denominations having long been recognized as notoriously misleading, the Archbishop of Washington sponsored, in March 1957, a house to house canvass of the entire population of the archdiocese, a census that was taken up by the members of the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Men. Whereas the *Official Catholic Directory* for 1957 had credited the Archdiocese of Washington with 245,303 Catholics, the census of March of that year—the first really serious effort to arrive at the true figures—turned up 281,322 Catholics in the city of Washington and the five counties of Maryland. In other words, the Archbishop of Washington suddenly found himself responsible for the spiritual welfare of over 36,000 more Catholics than had previously been estimated. And other dioceses have since undertaken similar surveys with similar results.

While it is true that all the recent gains have not been in the cities, it is the cities—and their expanding suburbs—that account for the vast majority of the 'newcomers'. And this increase has been sufficiently large to make it evident that the stake of the American Church in the 'exploding metropolis' is very great, indeed, and that here in all likelihood will lie the roots of its chief concern in the years ahead. In the light of the figures that have been published for those dioceses wherein a careful census has been taken (Wilmington, Delaware, and Buffalo, New York, are among the most recent) there is every reason to believe that Dr Paul C. Glick of the United States Bureau of the Census was not far off the mark when he estimated in a paper read before the American Sociological Society at Seattle last August that the Catholic population of this country was over forty-four millions rather than the 36,023,977 given by the *Official Catholic Directory* for our Catholic population as of 1 January 1958. Here, then, is a major problem confronting the American Church as it seeks to chart its course through the second half of the twentieth century.

During my visit to England and Ireland in 1956 the question that I was most frequently asked by Catholic friends was: what is the Church in the United States doing about integration of the races? The decision of the Supreme Court in May 1954 ordering integration for the public schools of the nation had, of course, brought the whole subject before the tribunal of public opinion in a way that would allow no further denial. In this regard it is pleasant to state that in a number of dioceses the Catholic Church had anticipated the court's ruling by some years. For example, as early as September 1947, the Archbishop of St Louis had commanded an end to segregation in the schools under his juris-

diction, and in June 1953 the Bishop of Raleigh had thrown open the churches, schools, and hospitals of his North Carolina diocese on a basis of equality for all races. When the first steps were taken in the autumn of 1954 to implement the decision of the Supreme Court in the public schools of Washington it occasioned a week of protest and general uneasiness which, happily, did not touch the Catholic schools of the national capital. The latter escaped that brief crisis because the Archbishop of Washington had inaugurated a policy of integration in Catholic classrooms as early as the fall of 1948. At the present time the only Catholic schools in either the federal district or in the Maryland counties belonging to the archdiocese that do not have some coloured children are those in solidly white neighbourhoods, and in some of the mixed neighbourhoods there are Catholic schools with several hundred Negro children who participate in all facilities on a basis of complete equality with the white children. Likewise in Washington the Catholic University of America was the first institution of that rank to admit Negroes (1936), a policy that has since been adopted by the city's five other Catholic institutions of higher learning.

The problems surrounding integration have been, as is well known, especially acute in the South where attempts such as those of the Archbishop of New Orleans to integrate the Catholic schools under his care have ended in failure. But they have also had particular relevance for the Archdiocese of Washington situated, as it is, on the border of the Southland and having the third largest concentration of Negro Catholics of any of the 142 American ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The 53,385 Negro Catholics of our archdiocese (January 1958) are exceeded only by the 75,000 recorded for the Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana, and the 70,000 for the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Solid progress has been made, surely, but the ultimate goal of this promising missionary field is still far in the distance when one recalls that approximately 50 per cent of Washington's nearly 900,000 residents are Negroes. And here the national capital reflects the condition of the country at large wherein there were in January 1958 only 575,925 Negro Catholics out of a total of over sixteen million coloured people in the United States. If, therefore, the progress that has thus far been made in the Archdiocese of Washington in attracting Negroes to the Church is to be continued it must necessarily be on the basis of integration of the races in the Catholic churches, schools, and charitable institutions of the capital city and the neighbouring Maryland counties.

On a national scale the most forward step yet taken by the American Church in an official manner on this controversial subject was the statement entitled 'Discrimination and the Christian Conscience' which was issued on 13 November by the bishops of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in the name of the 218 members of the American hierarchy at the close of their annual

meeting at the Catholic University of America. Frankly recognizing the gravity of this domestic issue, the bishops stated, 'No region of our land is immune from strife and division resulting from this problem.' It was their considered judgement that the time had come to cut through the maze of secondary or less essential issues and to come to the heart of the race question which, they said, 'is moral and religious'. Noting the long but successful struggle that the immigrant had been compelled to wage to establish his equality before the law in this country, the bishops maintained that it was a moral obligation upon the part of all white Americans to lend their assistance to the removal of the barriers to equal rights that still impeded the Negroes. In counselling on the means to be taken they deplored what they called 'a gradualism that is merely a cloak for inaction', while at the same time discountenancing 'rash impetuosity that would sacrifice the achievements of decades in ill-timed and ill-considered ventures'. In endeavouring to strike the proper medium the bishops distinguished between prudence and inaction by asking the question: 'Are we sincerely and earnestly acting to solve these problems?' This forceful yet balanced statement of the American bishops setting the face of the Church, as it does, strongly in opposition to racial discrimination cannot help but advance the cause of the civil rights of the Negro as well as give a fresh impetus to the Church's apostolate among the coloured people.

The DUBLIN's readers are in all likelihood familiar with the broad lines that govern the financial support of the elaborate Catholic educational system in the United States, that it is maintained by the voluntary offerings of the faithful and receives no direct financial assistance from the state. In this regard what may be termed a negative victory was won in the election of last 4 November in California, second to New York as the most populous state in the Union. It was only in 1952 that California had voted to remove private schools from the tax list, California being the only state in the country up to that time to have levied taxes on private schools. A great deal of controversy had accompanied the case and those who had opposed this tax exemption meanwhile won sufficient support to have the matter brought before the voters again in the hope of reversing the decision of 1952. But their attempt proved to be a dismal failure and the proposal to remove the tax exempt status of private schools in the state was decisively defeated in the election of November 1958 by a margin of over two to one.

Among the more interesting aspects of the campaign that preceded the November vote in California on this issue were the tremendous efforts made by many Free Masons, both in California and elsewhere in the country, to restore this taxation, efforts that were accompanied by a quite extraordinary and unwonted lack of secrecy on their part. The final days of the campaign gave rise to widespread bitterness by reason of the false accusations that were aired—including even an

attempt to involve the President and Vice-President of the United States on the side of the opponents of the alleged 'Roman domination of the American schools'. The impression left on the minds of fair-minded Americans will not be easily forgotten, and there is good reason to believe that the unscrupulous tactics employed in California have acted as a boomerang upon their authors and seriously weakened any future appeal to the voters that may arise from these quarters. In fact, it has since become known that there were a good number of Masons who were thoroughly aroused by the misguided actions of their leaders and that as a consequence the latter emerged from the campaign with a seriously damaged prestige among their own members. In this sense the great amount of money and effort expended by the Catholics of California, who were joined by many outstanding Protestant and Jewish citizens, seeking to protect their own private schools, was well worth the price to win this victory for private education.

In the same election of 4 November there was also, as followers of the American political scene are aware, a notable swing to the Democrats away from the Republican Party that had won in the elections of 1952 and 1956. In this shift of political sentiment a relatively large number of Catholics were swept into both national and high state offices. For example, Catholics were elected to four new governorships in the states, including the large and important States of California, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, to bring to nine the total number of Catholics holding this office in various states. And whereas before 4 November there had been ten Catholics in the United States Senate there will now be thirteen. Although the religious affiliations of the new members of the national House of Representatives are not fully known at this writing it is fairly safe to assume that the eighty-eight Catholics among the former membership of the lower chamber will have likewise been substantially increased in the new Congress that will assemble in January.

The significance of the emergence of so many American Catholics in high offices on both the national and state level has naturally not been lost upon the political commentators. As one nationally known columnist wrote in the *Washington Post and Times Herald* (10 November 1958) concerning the election returns, there was one result that was, as he said, too fascinating to pass over without comment, namely, that 'the performances turned in by Democratic candidates belonging to the Catholic Church made a remarkably striking pattern'. The number and prominence of these Catholic Democratic victors prompted another well-known columnist, also a non-Catholic, to say in the same issue of the *Post and Times Herald*: 'It's time the American people got over the idea that a Catholic should not be elected President of the United States, and last week's election indicates that they are doing so.' Both of these writers, whose columns are carried by syndicates which reach millions of American readers each day, ended their

stories on the same note, namely, that the overwhelming victory of Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts in his bid for re-election, together with the notable victories of other Catholics for high national and state offices in the same election, should give new meaning to the presidential aspirations of the junior senator from Massachusetts.

That Senator-elect Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota should in that predominantly Protestant state have won over a respected and experienced Protestant rival, and that the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate from New York, Frank Hogan, a Catholic, should have lost, but at the same time should have polled 400,000 more votes than Averell Harriman who was defeated in his bid for a second term as Governor of New York, lends a certain piquancy to the overall results of last November's voting. That Americans of all religious persuasions are, perhaps, growing more accustomed to casting their votes on the basis of the personal ability of the candidates and less on their religious affiliations would likewise seem to have been borne out in Connecticut, a state with a population well over 50 per cent Catholic, which returned Abraham Ribicoff, a Jew, by a large majority for his second term in the governor's chair. A further example of this sort of thing, what Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* (14 November) called 'Another Side of "Tolerance" in Voting', was the re-election by an emphatic margin of Governor Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey. According to well-informed sources, Governor Meyner was baptized and brought up in the faith, but ceased to be a practising Catholic while an undergraduate in college. Yet New Jersey's more than two million Catholics—over a third of the state's population—apparently did not let that fact interfere with their voting in large numbers for Mr Meyner as a close tabulation of several strongly Catholic counties would seem to make clear. In other words, the professional politicians' ban against running an apostate Catholic that kept James F. Byrnes from securing the nomination for Vice-President in 1944 and thus made Truman President of the United States at Roosevelt's death in April 1945 may no longer operate as it once did out of fear of the reactions of Catholic voters. It was Mr Krock's conclusion that while the election of 1958 does not conclusively prove that this show of Protestant tolerance towards Catholic candidates would hold in a presidential contest, any more than the New Jersey results conclusively demonstrate that the tolerance shown by Catholics in this instance would be repeated on a national scale, 'they do offer stronger hope than in the past that a great American idea of religious tolerance in politics is now attainable'.

All of this, to be sure, has little direct relevance for the Catholics of Washington who like their fellow citizens of other faiths have no vote in the federal district. Yet these election returns are not without interest even for the voteless citizens of the national capital. For they

suggest that a considerable transformation in the status of the Catholic community has taken place in this country since 1944 when D. W. Brogan wrote in *The American Character* that 'from the political and social point of view, the Catholic problem is one of segregation, voluntary and involuntary'. This recent political trend, as it relates to the American Catholics, is, indeed, only the latest of a number of signs that point towards a breakdown of this segregation on both sides of the barrier.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

The writer of this letter is Professor of Church History in the Catholic University of America.

A QUARTER'S TELEVISION

A Survey

By MARY CROZIER¹

IN THIS, the first of a series of quarterly surveys of television, I hope to show the extent and, where it can be gauged, the effect of television in Britain, and to indicate some of the future possibilities. What may happen to television in this country within the next few years will have an important bearing on its quality and how much 'minority' audiences are considered, and undoubtedly some important decisions are going to be taken. But anyone who is thinking about the future shape of television here is bound to do so in the light of what we have already.

The BBC, with a gap in the last war, has now been running a public service for nearly twenty-two years, and has built it up from a few hours of programmes to a comprehensive service, taking up all the afternoon and evening and often part of the morning. In nothing has its advance been more noticeable than in news, current affairs and outside broadcasts of events. It has women's programmes, children's programmes of high standard, schools broadcasts every day, and access to most sports where copyright or gate restrictions do not hamper it. The BBC service can be received by about 98 per cent of the population, and there are now more television licences than those for sound alone.

Under the Television Act of 1954, commercial television started as

¹ The writer is the television critic of the *Manchester Guardian*.

a rival to the BBC in 1955. The Independent Television Authority is a board corresponding in function to the BBC's board of governors, with a director-general as chief executive, and programmes supplied by programme contractors. That the revenue is from advertisements has meant the production of programmes on an entirely different principle from those of a public service corporation. The results of this competition have been startling. Although the ITA has not yet got quite such a complete system of transmission as the BBC (there are still some regional stations to be opened) the majority of the audience choose the ITA wherever they are able to tune in to either system. Thus on a comparison of statistics, the BBC is losing all the time and must expect to lose yet more.

We shall see why this happens when the programmes are considered in more detail. The general picture is that the competition of commercial television has sent up the costs of the public system very considerably—a rise which does not necessarily mean better programmes, but merely bigger expenses. This has incidentally caused extra pressure for economy in sound broadcasting. Yet in some respects the 'competition' is not genuine; there are two markets for those who appear and those who produce, but because the BBC has felt bound to compete for audiences, both networks tend to show the same type of programme at the same time. In the 'peak' hours of the evening, when the advertisers pay most, and the ITA shows its lightest programmes—quizzes, giveaway shows and serials, with an occasional play—the BBC often dare not try anything very different. The interesting, intelligent programme—even current affairs or discussion—is pushed into the marginal hours, late or early. Again, the ITA is greedy for longer hours; it hooked in the formerly 'silent' hour from six to seven o'clock and the BBC had to follow suit. Is it not true to say that commercial television would fill every waking hour, but that the BBC, left to itself, would not try to do so? Now there is the likelihood that commercial television will have several morning hours from breakfast on. Will the BBC again have to follow?

The winter of 1958-59, when the ITA has just published its third annual report, and has every ground for optimism, while the contractors have made large profits, enables one to look at what television offers with the knowledge that we see an established pattern. No longer can it be said that commercial television is experimenting or is only a beginner, nor that the BBC cannot yet know what it has to face. What we get from the two today is what we are likely to go on getting, unless and until some radical change or addition is made.

It is the balance of this television output that causes most concern to those who realize it as a very powerful force. It is certainly stronger than broadcasting, exerting a power over many people which it is no exaggeration to call mildly hypnotic. (I recently read an article by an

American psychiatrist explaining how for television addicts who watch continuously, the screen is a mother-substitute, or baby's comforter, a soothing stream of sound and movement, and that it can be a useful therapy in some cases of mental illness.) Good or bad, it is the most revolutionary form of communication since the printing-press, and most of us will have to learn to live with it, whether we are submerged by it, can control it, or resent it. What is presented in this ever-present stream of images therefore matters tremendously. The most popular features—that is, with the biggest audience ratings—are the variety shows, quizzes, panel games and give-away shows and crime serials. (I except the rare occasion such as the Queen's first Christmas speech on television, which won the BBC a record number of viewers who then stayed faithful to the Corporation for the rest of the day—a fascinating instance of the feeling that at Christmas time one remains true to tradition.) A considerable proportion of these shows is American—a consequence foreseen when commercial television was introduced. The more ridiculous give-away shows, such as *Dotto*, *Keep it in the Family*, and *Beat the Clock*, are not emulated by the BBC which cannot, under its charter, give away sums of money. No doubt if it could, it would be able to find just as many contestants eager, but not always able, to win large prizes for answering elementary questions. Perhaps the worst thing to worry about here is that in some curious way the screen sets a standard for a huge and gullible audience, and many observers now detect a tendency to the adulation of the semi-literate, and a positive hostility to the appearance of the educated.

The BBC has done its best to attract the mass audience with popular programmes such as *This is your Life*, American films and serials, and the clamorous *Six-Five Special* on Saturdays. On the whole it shows distinctly less crime, and fewer melodramatic serials with morbid medical plots, shootings or horror. It is not in this sector, on either channel, that one looks for what is going to interest the minority who appreciate television, but can occupy themselves with many other pursuits except when a particular programme appeals to them. These people will find in the occasional play by the BBC or the ITA a dramatic experience worth waiting for; they may well see something they have missed on the stage, say T. S. Eliot's latest play, a production of Anouilh, Ibsen, Tchekov or Shakespeare. They will also find an unique and enjoyable experience in the BBC's *Look*—the best nature programme there is, in a documentary sometimes (more often BBC than ITA), in filmed reports (such as the ITA's *Roving Report*) which are peculiar to television and not part of the cinema, and in some discussions and talks.

Interviews with authors, artists and statesmen are seen; ITA has *What the Papers Say*, *This Week* on current affairs, and *We Want an Answer* in which eminent people are questioned by sixth formers—why

not by older people one cannot think. The BBC has *Press Conference*, *Panorama*, *Tonight* and *Monitor*. So it would not be true to say that television provides nothing for the minority who mostly occupy their own minds and do not want a sedative. It does provide something, but not much, and nearly always in the margin. Thus *Monitor* comes late on Sunday night after the chief play of the week.

In thinking of this minority one can leave aside large tracts of television which may or may not appeal according to personal taste, and which are part of the service expected of any comprehensive system. There are the news, the women's programmes, and the children's programmes. (These last are an important responsibility and I hope to examine them in a future article.) There is sport, a vivid example of a common interest between the minority and the mass. Racing, cricket, and Wimbledon are fascinating across all distinctions of class or education, if you like them. Some people would use television alone for these and for the 'live' outside broadcasts which make us all able to share in a national or even international event. And it is here that television still brings a sense of wonder, and is truly more wonderful than when it shows an arranged entertainment. Within a few days this autumn there was the State opening of Parliament sent out on Eurovision, and probably the BBC's best and biggest assignment since the Coronation; the Coronation of Pope John XXIII in St Peter's, also seen on Eurovision and a triumph of Italian television work; and finally there was the touching and memorable sight of Sir Winston Churchill being decorated by General de Gaulle with the Cross of Liberation. I should myself have thought it worth harbouring a television set in the house for these three alone. Such broadcasts plough broad swathes through the ranks of dissentients; a few people think the panoply of a State opening is flummery, but to most it is a reinforcement of Parliament's dignity; some few may have resented the papal coronation being shown at such length (though at any rate it gave them television in the morning) but the general view was that this was a matter of world interest even to non-Catholics. These broadcasts also make television tolerable to the minority which gets little of value from it.

However, there is a most significant province left over when we have accounted for all the aspects I have mentioned, and it is no accident that this is not entertainment, spectacle, or mere 'outside' broadcast, but is the area where television is actually at work in the business of politics or religion. In these two functions television is not merely passing on information or passing the time for us, but is actively used as a means of doing something to each individual. I shall not call this propaganda because that word has generally attracted to itself a bad sense, implying faked claims. But nothing done in politics or religion can really be neutral, since both these concern matters of belief and

decision. Both have come to play an increasing part in our television programmes, and it is again no accident that when I was going through my files of cuttings (from the national papers) for this year I found that the thickest file (after television entertainment in general) was that on politics. Religion had not won nearly so much notice, though religious programmes are noticed by the various church newspapers, but religious questions arising from television had not been a matter for quarrel or argument or constitutional enquiry. There was nothing comparable to the excitement over whether the Rochdale by-election could legally be televised, or the fuss about whether a commercial company showed political bias, or even whether the State opening would make people think that the Queen belonged to the Conservative Party.

It is natural that these political questions should arise, for the BBC has always tried strictly to interpret its duty to be impersonal; the ITA has been anxious to break new ground, and some of the old, rigid rules have rightly been relaxed. Television cannot be kept out of politics, and politicians must now reckon with it increasingly as the public meeting declines, and the electorate sits at home expecting candidates and members to appear on the screen. Television here is an active force; no political person appears on it without aiming, however quietly, to influence the audience.

What then of religion? Here again there can be no neutrality. Under the BBC's rule the duty of broadcasting and television was to take religious services from churches 'in the main stream of historic Christianity' (the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Scotland and the Free Churches). Minority and non-Christian views are represented in other programmes and discussions. The BBC has kept a general balance, though it does not count up the points so carefully as in politics. The ITA follows the same general practice, but certain interesting differences have appeared. The BBC gives fewer actual church services on television, and more discussion programmes—such as the regular *Meeting Point*. The ITA has its regular programmes *Living Your Life* and *About Religion*, but is more likely to introduce some really eminent person to give a plain talk. Archbishop Heenan's twenty-five-minute talk in November on confession was an instance. The ITA also had Fr Vernon Johnson and Group-Captain Cheshire talking about St Thérèse of Lisieux; a very striking composite film and 'live' programme about Lourdes; a Sunday Mass from a school near London, and the whole of Archbishop Godfrey's enthronement at Westminster. On the other hand it was the BBC that gave Archbishop Heenan's brilliant debate with some journalists on divorce, that once had Fr Martin D'Arcy on the *Brains Trust*, that has had many Catholic epilogues and that has the excellent Fr Agnellus for its Roman Catholic commentator. And of him alone have I heard it said

by non-Catholics that though they were not Catholics, yet if they were to enquire about any church, it would be his, on account of the effect he had made on them.

Without counting heads or minutes, my impression has been that the ITA approach to religious television has been more adventurous than that of the BBC. It seemed remarkable that from the beginning their religious programmes, which were of a very different quality from most of their other material, should have got high audience figures for what one would think unpopular subjects. Between them the ITA and the BBC religious programmes attract an extraordinary audience when you think that so few people actually go to church. Of course with some viewers it may be simply *faute de mieux*. Better see what is on than go without. A very definite attempt at popular appeal is made in ITA's *Sunday Break* where a chat with a parson or minister is combined with a session of rock-'n'-roll. The really serious programme has its place, too; *The Story of the Holy Shroud*, which was done in 1957 and again this year; and a programme on portraits of Christ. There is not one of these things that does not have a possible active influence on viewers who may never have thought about, or learnt about, any sort of religion in their lives. At the least the discussion programmes may make them think; at the best any religious programme, and especially those relayed direct from a church, may strike some spark of interest or curiosity. I myself think that the direct picture of a Mass or a church service is the most valuable form of religious television. That is the way to show what actually happens. Then one day a discussion may mean more to some viewer because he knows what is being talked about. I notice nowadays, for instance, that non-Catholics will sometimes be heard judging and assessing the merits—in their view—of a televised Mass regarded, with respect, as an exercise. Thus I have heard Downside counted high in this system of appreciation, for the perfect performance of the Mass, and the funeral of Pope Pius XII criticized on account of the untidiness and informality, when people were seen moving about and talking at various points in the ceremony.

To Catholics this remarkable multiplying of Catholic practice and doctrine on the television screen must seem very significant indeed. Whatever one thinks of some of the consequences of commercial television, and I think one of the worst may have been a lowering of BBC standards, it has certainly doubled the number of religious broadcasts. Though these, of course, generally coincide so that one cannot choose, say, on Sunday between a religious and a secular programme, there are at least two kinds of religious presentation to choose from. (I do not regard them very seriously as a threat to church attendance, for the morning Mass is still the prime obligation for Catholics, and it is not the determined church-goer who is kept at home by television at any time.) If the ITA seems to have had a much quicker sense of popular

religious values in the last year—for instance, the importance of Lourdes—the BBC's more studiously restrained attitude (more discussion, fewer dramatically produced programmes) reflects its public service and 'establishment' side. Both of them, incidentally, dealt handsomely with the Lambeth Conference.

ABC Television, one of the independent contractors, announced on 18 November that thirty-six clergymen, twelve each from the Church of England, the Catholic Church, and the Free Churches, are next year to attend the first course in a training scheme in television technique. They will learn how to write scripts and the art of appearing before the cameras. But while some training in the special requirements of television is obviously useful, one may reasonably hope that the clergy will not learn all the glibness of seasoned television 'performers', for it is the very fact that they are not in this class that often makes them and what they have to say more impressive.

It seems to me, then, that we can distinguish several quite distinct elements in television and it is important to recognize the purpose of these and their effect, since television is likely to increase in amount and to become still more pervasive. First, there is the major stream of entertainment, mixed and ranging from the most puerile give-away shows and gun serials to drama, discussion and documentary—but all general entertainment. If we take the two extremes among viewers, the effect on one type is to lull them into apathy and mix up fact and fantasy for them; but the effect on educated people is that there is little to attract their interest because most of the level is so immature. Are we ever likely to have more programmes that this minority can watch without discomfort or impatience? Then there is an educational element; in the BBC this has been scattered as a matter of course through the programmes; one could say that a serial of *Kenilworth* or a survey of current affairs is generally educational, and there is considerable evidence that television has increased the demand for books. There are also the school lessons, now in the middle of a three-year experiment. Are these likely to be extended, and if so is there scope in the present BBC service?

A third aspect of television is that of the regular service of news, sport and outside broadcasts, the latter extending to Europe. There is nothing in these which raises the question of how far television is to be a stream of entertainment, whether harmless or obnoxious; as I have suggested, it is in this sector that all types of viewer, from the least to the most educated, find a common ground. What we do see sharply emphasized here is that television (much more forcefully than radio) imports events into the home or draws us out to them, but without intent to influence the audience.

In politics and religion television acts positively as an instrument for propagating beliefs; here it is neither entertainment nor a live record

of events, but a medium directed to informing people and converting them. I use the word in a general sense. This is the only part of television that is not neutral; you can watch football or Arthur Askey or the life of the octopus without committal, but if you do not believe what the Labour leader is telling you, then you must believe something else; and if you disagree with what the Archbishop of Canterbury is saying, then you must have some ground for your objection.

These, it seems to me, are the main streams of television, which now come to us through two channels from different sources. The one, independent of commercial revenue, has tried to give a balanced service with the guiding definition of 'entertainment, education and information' which runs through the BBC's undertakings; the ITA, though under certain restrictions of the 1954 Act, reflects the natural preference of the advertisers for the most popular programmes at the most popular times—that is, the maximum audiences. Given a situation in which the BBC has to 'compete' in order to justify its licence fee, it was only to be expected that the corporation would in some ways become more like the ITA and that these good quality features it can provide should be reduced and pushed off into the marginal hours. But now there arises the question of the future, which is being increasingly canvassed although the BBC's charter does not come up for renewal till 1962, and the ITA need not, under the 1954 Television Act, be reconsidered till 1964. Many interests are already lining up and the pressures are getting to work.

First, the observer may well ask, should come the question, do we in fact need—or want—more television in Britain, or are we content with what we have? The answer to this, I think, is that we should not need more television if the present arrangement gave us genuinely alternative programmes, but that it has failed to do. It inhibits the BBC from giving of its best, since on the one hand it tries to produce the work of a public service, doing programmes for important minorities, and on the other it is forced into the unequal competition with commercial features. So the answer here is that more television in the shape of another service may indeed be desirable, but only if this means better quality.

It is known that a third channel is available for television. This is apart from the complicated question of the introduction of colour television and higher definition (number of lines), for which still further bands in the ultra-high frequencies might be used. The ownership of this third channel has been more and more urgently discussed for some years, and the Government has more than once put off making a decision about it.

Commercial television with its established financial success and its majority of viewers puts in a strong claim; the director-general, Sir Robert Fraser, has repeatedly in recent months stated the case for a

second commercial network. The BBC, on the other hand, has built up a television service which, even in its present difficulties, is more balanced and still pays more regard to minorities, and so has a strong claim to the alternative system which alone could now enable it to fulfil its proper obligations under the charter. A disturbing view that is sometimes heard is that the BBC might not be allowed to continue under a charter as at present, but might be turned into something rather different. If the issue lies between the BBC and the ITA, in their present form, it is difficult to imagine that a second commercial programme, dependent on advertisements, could provide anything different from its present successful output. What advantage will there be for the audience if they have, say, in the middle of the evening, the BBC and two commercial wavelengths all doing variety or panel games?

If the BBC were given the third channel, then surely we could expect it, on its record, to provide more varied and serious programmes for some of the audience. The BBC does not intend, if it secures this alternative wavelength, to use it as a segregated 'Third Programme' type of television. Any such 'streaming' of the programmes would be undesirable. It has perforce been adopted to some extent in radio, and the result has been that broadcasts which attracted interest when they were found in the course of the Home or Light Service, are less accessible, and are missed by many listeners when they are grouped together in a network for educational or practical purposes.

The BBC's second television programme, if it ever gets it, is likely to be mixed and balanced so that each provides a true alternative; there would, of course, be room for more programmes of high quality that had no mass appeal. There would also be scope, as Sir Ian Jacob, the director-general of the BBC, said in a speech on 7 November to the Schools Broadcasting Council for the United Kingdom, for much more extensive television lessons for schools (he was speaking specially of science) as well as provision for minorities.

To see this as a straight fight between the BBC and the ITA may be too simple, for recently suggestions have been made that a third service might conceivably be a combination of both—including some public-service programmes and some commercial. This might be possible administratively, but it seems to me that it would be unworkable in practice if the idea is that this hybrid would give the audience a genuine alternative to what it gets at present. The one certain thing is that advertisers pay the big money for the spots around the most popular programmes at the peak hours; and nobody can make them pay up for anything they do not like judged by the criterion of maximum public. In a composite commercial-BBC network, if the ruling were that some minority programmes were to be done at the peak hour, would the advertisers look with pleasure on losing most of the audience?

And is the BBC to be partly financed by this revenue, or will there still be a licence? The joint BBC-commercial idea does not seem to me a good solution.

Nor does the argument that the BBC itself should be forced to accept advertisements, on the ground that it should not continue to depend on licence fees though having lost many viewers. It remains true that integrity can be better preserved by a body not dependent on advertisement revenue, especially one with so many responsibilities other than mere entertainment. The BBC does not in fact get all the licence fee (of which £1 is anyway plain tax) and if the Treasury were to give over to the BBC the share it now keeps, the BBC could start a second television service without difficulty.

One of the most insidious tendencies at present is the suggestion that the BBC has somehow 'failed' because the ITA gets the bigger audiences. This is a queer definition of failure, but it is true that the BBC must, in the future, be enabled to do more of what it can do best without having to struggle for the mass audiences. There is certainly a need for more programmes for the intelligent minority, and I do not see how we are going to get them unless from an organization which has some freedom from this pointless form of competition. Among the present welter of suggestions and conflicting claims one thing should be kept clearly in view: the standard of television which the BBC, at its best, has set up, should be reinforced and not dragged down, whatever the next few years may bring.

BOOK NOTICES

HEMPEN HOMESPUN

Portrait of a Parish Priest. By Lancelot C. Sheppard. (Burns Oates. 18s.)

THIS sober and balanced study of St John-Baptist Vianney, the Curé d'Ars, who died in 1859, exemplifies the fact that over the last half-century there has been a profound change in the fashion in hagiography. The saints are no longer portrayed in accordance with the conventions of Byzantine art in stylized dramatic attitudes, or in their best

clothes, material or spiritual, or even in terms of beauty. They are presented not as symbols but as men, and as men reflected not in the mirror of eternity but in the stream of time that moulds them and modifies them as it carries them along, growing, struggling, experiencing. The writer's concern is not so much with the portrayal of a man who has attained holiness as with the study of how he did so, how the raw material of temperament and circumstance and history was slowly transformed by the constant interaction of grace and will.

The result is for the most part admirable. Gone are the absurdities of such pious hindsight as could find in a seven-year-old boy's firm refusal of a small girl's proposal of marriage impressive evidence of his self-dedication to life-long celibacy. Gone is the sense that saints come ready made, and have only to develop from glossy infant prodigies to lilled adolescents, and onward, if they live so long, to martyrdom or to a stiffly haloed old age; protesting all the time a humility unreal in that it seems in such inhumanly perfect creatures to spring either from self-deception or worse still from a desire to say the right thing.

Mr Sheppard's book is based on the determination to present St John-Baptist Vianney in his temporal, cultural and personal setting, showing him as he appeared in the eyes of his contemporaries and as we may perceive him now; a peasant, gathering his early impressions from the last years of the *ancien régime*, brought up to go secretly to Mass during the Terror, loving God with a steadfastness unshaken either by external trials, failures and difficulties, or by the extremely harsh and gloomy interpretations of Christian doctrine which characterized his theological training, and preaching Him to a parish, and to pilgrims, who might have lost the practice of their religion but were not totally unaware of its principles. He had, in fact, as Mr Sheppard is careful to point out, none of the difficulties of communication which so hamper priests today. His hearers might not like what he said, but they understood it, it was not something formulated in a totally unfamiliar idiom. This point is perhaps given particular stress lest it should be thought that parish priests, to whom he is held up as a model, need do no more than imitate methods which, admirable in a nineteenth century French village, are not always applicable to today's industrialized world.

Mr Sheppard is anxious to acknowledge all the natural weaknesses of his hero, among them a desire to escape from almost intolerable situations. He first traces the conscious and unconscious workings of this desire in the events that led to young Vianney's technical 'desertion' after being conscripted to serve with Napoleon's armies; but the reader may well feel that this incident is treated with more seriousness than it deserves in the context of the time, when military service was considered an imposition rather than a duty. Why should any very great conflict of conscience be ascribed to a young man dedicated not to *la gloire* of a conquering France but to the glory of God, who does his best

to catch up with the troop that has marched without him, fails, asks a local official to help him, and then acquiesces in the latter's suggestion that he should go no further? Why should it be assumed that he must necessarily have thought it right to persevere to the uttermost in a course of action leading to the slaughter of those fellow men whom he wished to be used to serve as a priest?

Mr Sheppard recognizes this desire more plausibly in the repeated efforts, when he was growing old and tired, to leave Ars, and the crowding pilgrims and the besieged confessional, and the crushing burden of other men's sins incessantly heaped upon him there, and to prepare himself for death in the peace of a monastery. He suggests, moreover, that its frustration may have had something to do with the poltergeist phenomena which so long tormented the harassed Abbé. These are examined with all the strictness of an enquiry conducted by the Society for Psychical Research. Some of the events are dismissed as explicable by natural causes; it is thought that the picture of the Annunciation may well have been fouled by some parishioner resentful of the Curé's reforms, and that a not-quite-extinguished match may, after long smouldering, have set his bed on fire. As to the other disturbances, the rumblings, shouts, bangings and so on, two suggestions are made. One is that in a dissociated somnambulist state resulting from extreme tension the Curé himself brought about by ordinary physical means all those which he did not imagine. This does not square with the facts that he—who had practically no privacy—does not seem ever to have been observed in any sort of somnambulist state; that the young carter who sat up all night with him in the presbytery heard *in his presence* the noise of someone banging and crashing at the front door, where no one was to be seen; that his sister Gothon had the same sort of experience as the carter; and that the priests, gathered for a jubilee mission at St Trivier, heard not only loud noises in the Abbé Vianney's bedroom there but also 'the rumble of a heavy wagon' that 'seemed to shake the whole presbytery'. It seems very much more likely that the second suggestion, that he projected his interior conflicts, conflicts whether for himself or for his penitents, in some sort of telekinetic form, is the more acceptable. There is no reason, moreover, to abandon St John-Baptist Vianney's own interpretation of the phenomena as 'assaults of the Devil'. Whatever may be thought of the process through which those assaults were made, they were certainly, to quote an article in *The Month* for December 1957, 'temptations to fear and to acquiescence in evil transformed into an exterior mode'.

It is impossible to discuss all the fascinating points raised by Mr Sheppard, including that of the usefulness of the Curé's devotion to St Philomena (who it is now known may never have existed except in the lively imagination of an archaeologist) in preserving him from any self-consciousness in sanctity. Enough has been said though to show that

this is a most stimulating, interesting and scrupulously accurate piece of work. It should perhaps be added that though the picture is painted 'warts and all' (as Cromwell desired his to be) it is imbued with both sympathy and awe for the constant courage with which this human being prayed, acted, endured until without his knowledge the light of holiness was visible through him.

RENÉE HAYNES

CHESTERTON CATALOGUED

G. K. Chesterton. A bibliography by John Sullivan. (University of London Press. 30s.)

ONE can only regard Mr Sullivan with reverential awe. He has put Mr Chesterton's papers in order. That he should have attempted the task indicates courage, that he should have brought it to completion indicates a remarkable capacity for perseverance. Collectors, librarians and booksellers, say his publishers, will find this an invaluable work of reference. They will indeed, but one feels that Chesterton himself would have been Mr Sullivan's greatest admirer.

And yet, not quite to completion. Bibliography is defined as the geography of the book world. Explorers of the Chesterton country know how vast the terrain is, how many bypaths there are, and how they lead to uncharted regions. Mr John Raymond, writing in the *Sunday Times*, has deplored the fact that Mr Sullivan's book will leave no more worlds to conquer—'the infinity of the chase, the chance of discovering some long forgotten piece of juvenilia or essays buried in a Viking funeral volume is ruined for good'. He need have no such fears. Not Mr Sullivan, nor Miss Collins, nor Mr Chesterton himself knows all there is. At the time of Chesterton's death some one in Surrey announced in a letter to the Press that he had every newspaper article that Chesterton had ever written. Had he? . . . had he?

Mr Sullivan is full and sound in his first section, 'Books and Pamphlets by Chesterton'. I can find only two errors (*Varied Types* should be 1903, not 1908, and *Robert Louis Stevenson* should be 1902, not 1903), and no omissions. But his later sections, 'Books and Pamphlets containing contributions by Chesterton', 'Periodicals containing contributions by Chesterton', and 'Books and Articles about Chesterton', though they give us a great deal, do not give us all. Where is Robert Lynd's 'Defence of Pink' (a reply to Chesterton's attack on that colour)? Where are the cartoons of Bohun Lynch, Bert Thomas, Tom Webster, the *Lectures on Living Authors* by 'Quiz', Guedalla on Chesterton, A. G. Gardiner on Chesterton, E. V. Knox taking Chesterton off? Where are the poem 'G.K.C.', by Wilfrid Meynell, and the poem by Evan Morgan? Mr Sullivan's eye has caught the *Heaton Review* but missed the

St Joseph's College Magazine, with its unique photograph of Chesterton and Father Brown together.

Even as one is pursuing the unknown and forgotten items a new Chesterton literature is arising. He is one of those characters, like Newman and the Brontës, that writers write about regardless of how much has already been written. James Stephens said in a broadcast some years ago that Chesterton was only a journalist, who would be forgotten with the years. How differently it is turning out! He is the most quoted author of our time. Amuse yourself by noticing how many times you will come across in the papers, the literary papers, the phrase 'as Chesterton says'. Phrases like 'Chuck it, Smith' are already part of English usage.

Already we can compile a list of books with titles drawn from Chesterton: *Naught for Your Comfort* (Trevor Huddleston), *The House that is Our Own* (O. Douglas), *Watching the Certain Things* (Ralph Wightman), *Where London Ends* (E. W. Martin), and no doubt many more. What other author can produce a list like that? Only Shakespeare. Chesterton is of course the master of the epigram, the pregnant phrase. The *Catholic Dictionary* has 372 quotations from him, compared with forty-six from Belloc.

But to return to magazine contributions. Here is the great field for collectors. Chesterton prices in the book world are going up. American booksellers refuse to send Chesterton catalogues to this country; they say their prices are too high. *The Turkey and the Turk*, with the drawings by Thomas Derrick, is now worth £30 a copy. The Chesterton pamphlets, of which there are so many, are by their nature today's and tomorrow they are cast into the oven; few copies are ever found. But there are still many periodicals to be picked up. Every visit to the second-hand dealer can be an adventure.

The Chesterton country lies before us in the sunlight, a level plain, with its lanes and by-paths full of fruit to pick, and in the blue distance the hills of another country—the Belloc country. But that is another story. Mr Cahill's *Bibliography of Belloc* is now the accepted guide of the book trade—'given as A in Cahill', they say in the catalogues. Mr Sullivan's work will soon be of equal rank. How entrancing it will then be to find something 'not in Sullivan'.

MICHAEL WHITE

To be published on January 5th

ARISTOTLE and the AMERICAN INDIANS

Lewis Hanke

Perhaps the greatest debate of our time, the one on which the survival of our civilization may well rest, is that concerning the relations between the different races. The increase of technological skill among people whose tools two generations ago were barely an advance on those of Europe's Bronze Age, the break-up of the hierarchy imposed by the West's superior knowledge, the search for a new foundation for the dignity of men and the politico-religious struggle for the allegiance of the newly freed peoples of Asia and Africa, focus upon racial problems. How are we all going to live together?

Many people think this is a new issue, peculiar to our own age, but, as Professor Hanke shows in this study, the debate was raging furiously four centuries ago in sixteenth-century Spain, which at that time was approaching the height of its colonial power in the New World.

Professor Hanke is Director of the Institute of Latin American Studies and Professor of History at the University of Texas and in addition to long residence in many South American countries has served the United States Government on many missions to Latin America. In 1947, his *The Struggle for Justice in the Spanish Conquest of America* won him an award from the American Historical Association, and his studies of early colonial policy in Spanish America are widely known in the Americas and in Europe. In showing Las Casas working for human dignity at a time when there were many apologists for the most barbarous conduct towards subject peoples, Professor Hanke performs a valuable service: he demonstrates that there have always been men who will not temporize for the sake of expediency when they see wrong put forward as right.

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